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A NEW HISTORY OF SCOTLAND;

FROM

The Earliest ACCOUNTS,

TO

THE PRESENT TIME.

By JOHN BELFOUR.

Ex iis negotiis, quæ ingenia exercentur, in primis magno usui est memoria rerum gestarum.

SALLUST.

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PREFACE.

TO expatiate on the pleaſure and profit which are derived from Hiſtory, when the world appears to be ſo ſenſible of its utility, would be only to fill an exhauſted theme with needleſs repetitions:—to inſiſt then on the ſubject, any further than by way of motto, might juſtly be thought impertinent.

Univerſal hiſtory however is a field of ſuch extent, as to require more time, pains, and exence, than moſt people can ſpare for its cultivaon. It has therefore been parcelled out among the generality of mankind, who have reſpecvely devoted ſome part of their leiſure hours to the improvement of thoſe portions, which

were either in, or adjoining to, their native country. For it ſeems evident,—abſtracted from that beſt portion of *ancient* hiſtory, contained in the ſacred Annals, that *modern* hiſtory, to thoſe readers, who are engaged in the active ſcenes of life, muſt be the ſtudy, which they will find moſt conducive, both to their amuſement at home, and to their advantage with ſociety.

But many who may have been extremely deſirous of obtaining a competent ſkill in this rational and delightful ſcience, have ſometimes found their inclinations damped by huge folios, which, though very agreeable and neceſſary to the learned, they could ſpare neither money to purchaſe, nor time to peruſe. For ſuch perſons therefore, as well as for *youth in ſchools*, the moſt remarkable incidents in the hiſtory of a people have been excerpted from bulky writers, and compriſed in ſuch a

volume, as might at once prove cheap, convenient, entertaining, and inſtructive.

Hiſtories of England have been publiſhed in almoſt every ſize; and had the ſame method been purſued with regard to her ancient ſiſter country, Scotland, the preſent ſmall performance had poſſibly been precluded. Amidſt piles of great books, which record the affairs of thoſe brave and warlike people the Scots,—who, of old, ſtruggled in the cauſe of liberty, with the moſt amazing fortitude,—there ſeemed wanting a memorial like this, to diffuſe a more general knowledge of their exploits: And the encouragement which has been given to ſuch kind of Epitomes, was an additional inducement to the undertaking.

Secret cauſes of events, long delineations of characters, and a number of political reflections, are not in the following pages to be expected. It is hoped, however, that the reader will find a faithful and connected nar-

rative of leading occurrences, in a ſtile rather elevated than lifeleſs. Such at leaſt has been the Author's aim through the courſe of this little work, which he now delivers to the public, and ſubmits to the notice of criticiſm, with much diffidence, and the greateſt reſpect.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

THE antiquity of almoſt every people is uncertain. National pride and credulity, which characterize mankind in their illiterate ſtate, invented and believed the moſt ridiculous fables. Exaggerated by tradition, they afterward gained faith from antiquaries, and being then recorded by bigotted writers, hiſtory, which ſhould convey truth and lead to wiſdom, has been frequently a channel for error and abſurdity. This was particularly the caſe, with regard to Scottiſh annals, the firſt periods of which are extremely dark and fabulous. The Scots have been conſidered as the deſcendants of Scota, the daughter of Pharoah, king of Egypt, co-temporary with Moſes. Some have traced them to Milo, king of Spain; whilſt others again have brought them from Scythia and Germany. But the moſt popular fiction was, that they were the old inhabitants of Ireland; her antiquaries aſſuring us, that they lived there many centuries before the Incarnation, in a very flouriſhing condition, both as to politics and literature. Notwithſtanding this pompous and flattering account is more inſiſted on than the others, it would, however, be eaſier to prove, (what indeed is now generally believed) that, on the contrary, Ireland was firſt peopled from Britain. But be this as it may, it is pretty evident, from analogy of language, and the concurrent teſtimony of Greek and Roman authors, much more to be depended on than vague traditions, that the ancient Caledonians were, originally, a colony of *Celts* from Gaul (now

called France), who themſelves wandered thither from the Leſſer Aſia. Moſt probably they named the place that they finally ſettled in, *Cael-doch*, which, in the old Gallic tongue, ſignifies, the country of the Celts or Gauls: Hence the Romans, by a tranſpoſition of the *l* in *Cael*, and changing the harſh *ch* of *Doch* into an harmonious termination, formed, *Caledonia*, the old name of all that land to the north of the Friths of Forth and Clyde. The poſterity of theſe Caledonians, from a cuſtom then among them of painting their bodies, were denominated *Picts*. But from whence the deſcendants of theſe acquired the preſent name of *Scot*, has puzzled, hitherto, the moſt diligent antiquaries. One thinks it to be from the Celtic word *Scoth*, the name of the boats which the Caledonians uſed; another imagines it may come from the Britiſh word *Scode*, which ſignifies a corner; and a third, has a conjecture, not improbable, on the Gallic word *Scuta*, a wanderer. However, the etymon of the word, is, at this diſtance of time, of very little ſignification. Suffice it to ſay, that Scot and Pict appear to have been names, not aſſumed by the Caledonians themſelves, but impoſed on them by the Romans and others from local circumſtances; the illiterate Highlander, who ſtill calls himſelf *Cael*, and his country *Gaeldoch*, being an abſolute ſtranger to either.

Scotland, from whatever accident it received its preſent name, is now however a flouriſhing country. It is ſituated between 1 and 6 degrees of W. Longitude, and 54° and 59° of N. Latitude, is about 300 miles in length, and 150 in breadth; bounded on the N. by the Caledonian ocean; on the E. by the German; by the rivers Tweed and Elk, which divide it from England, on the S. and by the Atlantic ocean, and the Iriſh ſea on the Weſt. Scotland thus ſituated, and furniſhed with good harbours, is well adapted to commerce, and particularly favour-

ble to foreign trade. In the neceſſaries of life ſhe ſufficiently fertile. Her mountains produce cop-er, iron, and lead, beſides coal. Her foreſts, ſome f which are 20 to 30 miles long, afford plenty f timber; other parts of the country produce hemp nd flax, and her rivers teem with myriads of fiſh. North and South Britain being now incorporated, he inhabitants are, in moſt reſpects, pretty ſimilar. As the old Highlanders indeed ſtill retain a few ncient cuſtoms, a ſlight view of their more imme-iate progenitors may not be improper.

The Caledonians appear to have been tall, well-nade, and, in general, yellow haired. The ſkin f beaſts wrapt round them, was, at firſt, their on-y cloathing; but afterwards they wore plain and arty coloured mantles. A contrivance, not un-ike the preſent breaſt-buckle, faſtened them at top. This, according to the wearer's fancy, was of either raſs or iron, which metals they greatly eſteemed, nd wore in rings round their necks and bodies. The woman's mantle reached down to the ancle, he man's not ſo low, and in this conſiſted the on-y difference between the dreſs of the males and the emales. As they moſt commonly fought their bat-les naked, it was the opinion of Roman and other vriters that they always went ſo. They fed on eniſon, milk, and the natural growth of their elds and woods; ſome ſay that, like the South Bri-ons, they ſcrupled to eat fiſh, hares and poultry. They often had hunting parties. After they had illed their game, they dreſſed it by making a pit vhich they lined with ſmooth ſtones; on theſe, roperly heated, they put ſome veniſon, then a ayer of ſtones over it, and ſo alternately till the pit vas full, confining the ſteam with heath. At theſe eaſts, they drank out of ſhells, a ſtrong liquor nade of barley, which they called *Curmi*, and vhich, ſome have thought, was what is now called *Uſquebaugh*, the favourite liquor of the preſent High-

Highlanders. They lived chiefly in the woods, in huts, made of ſod and covered with turf; though ſome of the heads of clans, it ſeems, had little ſtone caſtles built on eminences.

One peculiar cuſtom among the Caledonians, was, for ten or twenty relations, or friends, to live together, and have their wives in common; lying promiſcuouſly on one continued bed of ruſhes, fern, or leaves. The wife of a Caledonian prince being rallied, on this account, by the empreſs Julia, and other ladies, at the court of Severus, is ſaid to have made this ſmart repartee; "We only do that openly, with the flower of our men, which you do in ſecret, with the ſcum of yours." By this cuſtom, though indeed barbarous, they prevented cauſeleſs jealouſies as well as real adultery, and made a more general concern of the education of their children, who were always looked upon as the iſſue of the man that originally married the mother. Agriculture and trade were but faintly proſecuted by them, if at all. Diſtant clans plundered each other; notwithſtanding which, they were hoſpitable to ſtrangers, and uſed to exchange weapons with them in token of friendſhip. Foreigners always eſteemed them a healthy, a ſtrong, and a brave people. War was their chief ſtudy; hunting their exerciſe; running, leaping, wreſtling, throwing the dart, heaving large ſtones, and darting the lance, (at which laſt they were particularly expert) were their accompliſhments. In their battles, they uſed darts, ſpears, long ſwords, and ſmall ſhields, which they ſtained with different colours. Their ſpears or lances, which they uſed more than any other weapons, had a piece of braſs, in ſhape of an egg, fixed to the lower end of them; and as they uſually attacked their enemies in the darkeſt nights, they ſhook theſe to terrify them with the noiſe. Like the Britons of the South, they fought alſo with chariots, having ſharp pieces of iron like ſcythes faſtened to the axel,

xel, which in the furious manner they drove made terrible havock. Some writers have doubted whether the Caledonians uſed any particular worſhip. But as religion, from an inſtinct inherent in man, was certainly always more prevalent than atheiſm, (which perhaps never exiſted in a mind perfectly ſound) there is no queſtion but that they had; and the veſtiges ſtill remaining in many parts of Scotland, ſufficiently demonſtrate that it was Druidiſm. The Druids had their name from the Celtic word *Deru*, an oak, becauſe their religious ceremonies were chiefly performed near oaks, large trunks of which they frequently burnt at their feſtivals. They had an high regard for the *Miſſelwe* growing on theſe trees, which they gathered with great ſolemnity. They likewiſe offered up to their gods *Dis* and *Samothes*, human ſacrifices; and the more wicked theſe had been, the more acceptable they imagined them. The Caledonians appear alſo to have worſhipped the ſun and moon, under the names of *Grannius* and *Diana*. They ſtood in great awe of their prieſts the *Druids*, (whoſe chief doctrine was the tranſmigration of ſouls) as their perſons were eſteemed ſacred, and their power in religious and civil affairs was abſolute. Beſides the *Eubates*, who ſtudied Ethics and natural philoſophy, and compoſed ſacred poetry, there was another order of men called *Bards*, who were conſidered as heralds, and inferior poets. At an annual feaſt, they repeated their poems; and ſuch of them as were thought worthy to be preſerved were, to that end, taught to their children.

There is no mention of any particular laws among the ancient Caledonians; and perhaps if there had been any, the ſword, in the hands of men under no regular government, would have rendered them uſeleſs. As to their funerals, the aſhes of their great warriors were depoſited in urns, which together with the ſword of the deceaſed, and the

heads

heads of twelve arrows, were incloſed in a kind of coffin made with ſix large ſtones; theſe they buried ſix or eight feet deep, and four ſtones marked the extent of the grave; on which it was reckoned a mark of reſpect, for perſons, who at any time paſſed by, to pile other ſtones; and the larger they were the more reſpectful. This accounts for thoſe ſtony hillocks in many places through Scotland, which the Highlanders call *Cairnes*, and when they would comfort a dying friend, "*I ſhall add a ſtone to your cairne*," is yet a common ſaying with them. The religion of the old Scots made them ſuperſtitious. Sanctified girdles, which with a particular ceremony were wrapped about women in labour, were ſuppoſed to eaſe their pains, and forward the birth. They imagined that ſtorms were raiſed by the ghoſts of the dead, who, in that manner, tranſported themſelves from place to place; and it was likewiſe their opinion that they hovered over, aſſiſted, and protected them in the day of battle

Having thus given ſome little account of the genius, manners, and cuſtoms of the Caledonians, who were the real anceſtors of the Picts and Scots, notwithſtanding that they afterwards divided into ſeparate kingdoms, the Hiſtory can now proceed without interruption. And the Reader will pleaſe to obſerve, that, as the firſt forty kings, of which ſome writers have made mention, ſeem to be fictitiouſly grounded on the Iriſh deſcent of the Scots, they are diſregarded as fabulous.

NEW

A New and Correct MAP of SCOTLAND, from the most Accurate SURVEYS.

The Islands of ORKNEY and SHETLAND.

Scotch Miles 20 to a Degree

English Statute Miles.

Scotch Miles 50 to a Degree

West Longitude from London

Mars Bank

NEW HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

MONARCHY, in Scotland, was eſtabliſhed in the beginning of the 5th century; but the deſtruction of her records, by Edward the firſt of England, in the 14th, has left little elſe to be related of thoſe kings, who ſucceſſively filled the throne until near that æra, than that they lived and died.

For the ſake of method, however, and to preſerve chronology, which is the ſpirit of hiſtory, it is fit they ſhould be mentioned.

Fergus. A. D. 403.

In the year 403, hiſtorians are unanimous, that one *Fergus* was king of the Scots; what was his rank or dignity before he aſcended the throne is uncertain; but it is pretty plain that he was a native as well as the firſt monarch of that nation. He greatly harraſſed the Britons, till they called the Romans to their aſſiſtance, in the year 418; his army was then defeated in a pitched battle, and he himſelf ſlain.

Eugene. 418. His ſon *Eugene*, who ſucceeded him, followed his ſteps; and the Romans being very ſoon called home, the Britons, unable of themſelves to ſtand againſt him, ſued for peace; which was offered them on the following conditions: "1ſt, That the Britons receive no aſſiſtance from any foreign power; and if any of them ſhould voluntarily viſit them, that they oppoſe their progreſs. 2d, That, without the concurrence of the Scots, the Britons ſhall neither make war nor peace. 3d, That the river Humber be the boundary of their kingdom; and 4thly, That they pay down a certain ſum for the uſe of the Scotch ſoldiers, which as a fine ſhould be continued annually." For the performance of theſe articles two hoſtages were demanded; but the Britons, rather than ſubmit to them, invited over the Saxons, by whoſe aid they routed the Scots at Grantham in Lincolnſhire; and it is reported that *Eugene* was drowned in the Humber.

Dongard. 452. *Dongard* his brother and ſucceſſor made peace, and continued on good terms with them till his death in 457.

Conſtantine. 457. *Conſtantine*, who was another brother, next filled the throne; of whom different writers give the moſt oppoſite characters. He lived till 479, when his place was ſupplied by his nephew, *Congal*, who appears to have been in the main a peaceable prince, tho' we are told that he had ſeveral ſkirmiſhes with the Saxons.

Congal. 479.

Goran. 501. Dying in the year 501, he was ſucceeded by his brother *Goran*, who ſwerving, it ſeems, from the principles of juſtice with which he began his reign, was, together with one Toncet, his iniquitous juſticiary, put to death.

In

In 535, *Eugene* ſucceeded his uncle Goran. He aſſiſted the famous king Arthur againſt the Saxons, till the end of his reign in 558; and *Conval*, his brother and ſucceſſor, continued the alliance; and *Kinnatel*, another brother, next acceded to the throne; but being conſumptive, he reigned only a year.

Eugene 2d. A. D. 535.

Conval. 558.

Kinnatel. 568.

Goran's ſon *Aidan* being then king, cleared the province of Galloway of many bands of robbers that infeſted it: after which he grew jealous of the power of Ethelfred, king of the Northumbrians, and therefore invaded his territories; but he received at laſt ſuch a mortifying defeat, that, on his return home, he is ſaid to have died of grief. According to ſome authors, the city, *Edinburgh*, is indebted to this monarch for her origin and name.

Aidan. 569.

He was ſucceeded in 604 by Conval's ſon *Keneth*, who reigning but twelve months, the crown next came to *Eugene*, Aidan's ſon, who enjoyed it peaceably ſixteen years. It then devolved on his eldeſt ſon, *Ferchard*, who deſtroyed himſelf in a dungeon, to which his ſubjects, on account of his vicious life, had confined him.

Keneth. 604.

Eugene 3d. 605.

Ferchard. 621.

His brother *Donald* in 632 ſat next on the throne, which, on his death in 646, was filled by *Ferchard*, Donald's nephew, who died after a quiet reign of eighteen years, reſulting from his good management, tho' on the contrary ſome have recorded him as a monſter of vice.

Donald. 632.

Ferchard 2d. 646.

He was ſucceeded in 664 by *Malduin* the ſon of Donald; a prince of great virtue. He quelled an inſurrec-

Malduin. 664.

tion in the ſhires of Argyle and Lenox, which had ariſen in the beginning of his reign; the remainder of which, being in perfect peace at home and abroad, he ſpent in acts of piety; nevertheleſs, ſay ſome, his queen, in a fit of jealouſy, had him murthered; for which fact ſhe and many accomplices were burnt.

Eugene 4th. A. D. 684.

In 684, we find on the throne his nephew *Eugene*, who defeated the Saxons that had deſigned to invade Galloway: he reigned five years, and then was ſucceeded by Ferchard's ſon, *Eugene*, who died in 697, leaving his crown to his nephew *Amberkeleth*, who was killed by an arrow in the ſecond year of his reign, as he was eaſing himſelf in a wood. His brother *Eugene* then mounting the throne, concluded a ſolemn treaty with the Picts, with whom his anceſtors, for more than a century, had been at variance. In order to ratify it he married *Spondona*, the daughter of Garnard king of that nation. Spondona was ſhortly afterwards murthered in her bed by two men, who miſtook her for the king, againſt whoſe life they had conſpired, for having put to death their father. Eugene himſelf being ſuſpected guilty of the fact, was ordered by his own, as well as by the pictiſh nobility, to appear at their aſſembly, and take his trial; before which time, the aſſaſſins being apprehended, they abſolved the king by a public confeſſion. Eugene was ſo nettled at this indignity, that he could ſcarcely be prevailed on to avoid an open rupture with the perſons who had accuſed him. He had nothing after this to diſturb the peace of his reign, which terminated in the year 715.

Eugene 5th. 689.

Amberkeleth. 697.

Eugene 6th. 699.

Murdac. 715.

He was ſucceeded by *Murdac*, the ſon of Amberkeleth, a pious prince, who repaired the churches and monaſteries

naſteries which had been injured by war: he died in 730, when the crown was worn by *Etfin*, ſon of Eugene the 6th, who is ſaid to have been an excellent monarch: towards the latter end of his reign, growing unfit for ſtate affairs, he appointed four of his nobility as regents, who abuſed their truſt and power, as has ſince but too often happened; ſtriving only to inrich themſelves. The good old king, being unable to ſilence the clamours of his ſubjects, by removing theſe obnoxious miniſters, died of grief in 761.

Etfin. A. D. 730.

But *Eugene*, the ſon of Murdac, acceding to the throne, called the late regents to account; one of whom he put to death, and inflicted heavy fines on the others. It ſeems, however, afterwards that this king himſelf, reclining in the arms of peace, gave a looſe to his irregular paſſions; and growing at laſt infinitely worſe than the regents had been, was, for public benefit, deſervedly put to death. Etfin's ſon being the next in ſucceſſion, he accordingly became king *Fergus* the 2d. Proving very libidinous, he fell a ſacrifice to the jealous reſentment of his queen; who, whilſt many perſons, ſuſpected to have been guilty of the murder, were in torture, confeſſed the deed, and immediately ſtabbed herſelf. *Selvac*, the ſon of Eugene the 7th then aſcended the throne, and proved both wiſe and juſt. In the third year of his reign, one Donald Bane, who called himſelf Lord of the Iſles, committed depredations in Kintyre and Lorn; Selvac ſent a body of forces againſt him, which put him and all his followers to the ſword. Soon after this, Gelcolm ſon of Donald, made an inſurrection in Galloway; but being taken with his principal followers, their puniſhment put a ſtop to farther miſchief: this king died of the gout in 787;

Eugene 7th. 761.

Fergus 2d. 763.

Selvac. 766.

Achaius. A. D. 787. and was ſucceeded by *Achaius*, the ſon of Etfin. The Iriſh upon his acceſſion, made a deſcent on Kintyre, but the inhabitants ſoon expelled them. Suffering the loſs of many ſhips in their voyage home, and fearing that the Scots would pay them a viſit in their turn, ambaſſadours were ſent from that nation to adjuſt matters with Achaius, who accordingly concluded a very ſatisfactory treaty. It is reported that Charlemagne entered into the moſt friendly alliance with this king, and that they mutually aſſiſted each other with troops. Achaius likewiſe, at Charles's deſire, ſent over to him many men of the beſt learning. His preceptor Alcuin being a Scotchman, not a little contributed to improve the friendſhip between theſe monarchs, whoſe ſucceſſors for a ſeries of years maintained this intercourſe.

Achaius having reigned thirty-two years in peace, and with the greateſt reputation, was ſucceeded by his nephew, *Conval*, who dying in five years, the throne was then filled by *Dungal* the ſon of Selvac, though not till after a ſlight oppoſition from ſome of his ſubjects, who endeavoured to bring in Alpin, ſon of Achaius: he appears rather to have deſired the pictiſh throne, which was then vacant; but the Picts preferred one of their own noblemen. Alpin conſidering this preference as a great affront, Dungal generouſly engaged to force the Picts to elect him, and marched at the head of a large army for that purpoſe; but being drowned in croſſing the river Spey, *Alpin* then in 831 became king of Scotland.

Conval. 819. *Dungal.* 824. *Alpin.* 831. Alpin, ſtill graſping at the pictiſh throne, marched onward. The Picts hearing his intentions, ſent offers of peace; but Alpin refuſing every ſubmiſſion but an abſolute ſurrender of the crown, they prepared to give him battle.

battle. Before the engagement, Brudus, the pictiſh king, ordered every attendant, man or woman, to mount on horſeback; and while both armies were fiercely engaged, theſe appearing as he had commanded them, ſtruck ſuch a panic into the Scots, who conſidering them as a reinforcement of regular troops, that turning tail, they were ſlaughtered like ſheep. Alpin and the chief of his nobility were taken priſoners: the latter they put to death before they quitted the field; and at their return home, refuſing the greateſt ranſom for the king, he was beheaded at the place now called *Pitalpy*.

His ſon, *Keneth*, ſucceeding him in 834, and being ſtrongly bent on revenging his father's murder, is ſaid to have prevailed on his nobility, (who ſeemed rather averſe to the feud) by the following contrivance: A perſon, dreſſed in fiſh-ſkins, entered the hall, in which they all ſlept after a feaſt that the king had given them, and with a long tube thundered in their ears the moſt dreadful threatnings if they did not revenge the death of Alpin. The luminous appearance which this man made, joined to the king's ſolemn declaration of having alſo been viſited by ſuch an apparition, made them conclude him an angel ſent on the occaſion. They therefore inſtantly concurred with the meaſures of Keneth; who, muſtering all his forces, was determined to exterminate the whole race of Picts: he infuſed a ſtrong ſpirit of revenge into every individual of his army, by giving "the death of Alpin" as the watch-word. Accordingly, when they joined battle with the Picts, being victorious, they ſpared neither age nor ſex. Drunken, in order to ſtop their progreſs, offered half his kingdom; but Keneth declaring for all or none, the pictiſh king united his ſtrength and hazarded another battle; in which being ſlain, and his whole army either put to the ſword, or drowned in the river Tay, every pictiſh ſettlement

Keneth 2d. A. D. 834.

immediately ſurrendered to Keneth, who thereupon ſtiled himſelf king of the Picts as well as the Scots, and was properly the firſt monarch of Scotland. After this conqueſt, by which the name of Picts was for the moſt part, abſorpt in the general one of Scots, Keneth ſat down contented; and having made many excellent laws, his glorious reign terminated in the year 854. He was ſucceeded by his brother

Donald 2d. A. D. 854.

Donald, againſt whom ſome of the Picts revolting, they were ſubdued by others more loyal: he reigned after this in great tranquillity, and in 858 his nephew,

Conſtantine 2d. 858.

Conſtantine mounting the throne, the diſaffected Picts went over to Denmark, and invited the Danes to join with them in the recovery of their kingdom. They accordingly readily came over, and landing in Fife, committed many cruelties. The king, being appriſed of this, marched againſt them with the beſt army which he could then collect; but as there were many Picts therein, who in the heat of battle joined the Danes, the Scots were totally routed; Conſtantine himſelf being taken priſoner, was carried to a cave by the ſea-ſide and there beheaded.

Eth. 874.

His brother *Eth*, furnamed Swiftfoot, was then declared king, but puſillanimouſly ſuffering the Danes to ravage the country with impunity, his nobility, at the end of his firſt year's reign, put him to death, and in his ſtead, anno 875, proclaimed *Gregory*, the ſon of Dongal.

Gregory. 875.

Gregory, immediately on his acceſſion, marched againſt the Danes and Picts, whom he drove from Fife into Northumberland: they had however, thrown a garriſon into Berwick, which having ſubdued, he put the Danes to the ſword; and making priſoners of the Picts, paſſed the winter in that province. Alfred the Great of England, being charmed with the martial ſpirit of Gregory, prof-

proffered an alliance for the ſecurity of both nations. This was no ſooner agreed on, than Gregory, having intelligence that the kingdom of Ireland was uſurped by two noblemen, determined to go over and ſettle Donach the minor king, who was his couſin, on the throne. The uſurpers, who before had been at variance, now joined their forces, and prepared to diſpute his landing. Their efforts, however, being ineffectual, Gregory drove them before him, till Brian being killed, Corneil retreated to Dublin, where receiving a reinforcement, he gave Gregory battle, but was defeated and ſlain. Gregory upon this, declared himſelf guardian to young Donach, appointed a regency, left many of his troops in garriſon, and then returned home: But when Donach came of age, he exchanged the hoſtages, which the Iriſh had given in token of fidelity, for the troops which he had left behind him.

This monarch, juſtly ſurnamed Great, after having built the city of Aberdeen, died in the caſtle of Dundee, Anno 892. To Gregory ſucceeded *Donald*, ſon of Conſtantine, a pacific prince, who governed with prudence and juſtice: he died 903, when *Conſtantine*, Eth Swiftfoot's ſon, next acceded.

Donald 3d. A. D. 892.

The firſt action of this monarch was to make an alliance with the Danes. He then ſettled the county of Cumberland on Malcolm, the late king's ſon; and in the tenth year of his reign, made a law that every future heir apparent of the kingdom ſhould be prince of it. Athelſtan, the natural-ſon of Edward (to whom Engliſh hiſtorians affirm, and Scotch writers deny, that Conſtantine paid homage) ſucceeding to the crown of England, and conſidering Cumberland as part of it, made the neceſſary demand on Malcolm. The prince refuſing to give up Cumberland, was obliged to take the field in its de-

Conſtantine 3d. 903.

fence. He was ſupported by the Danes and Scots; and Anluf an Iriſh prince, ſon-in-law to Conſtantine, alſo came over to their aſſiſtance. Theſe united powers were attacked by Athelſtan, who after a fierce and obſtinate battle gained a complete victory. Conſtantine does not ſeem to have been perſonally preſent at the defeat; for ſome ſay, that he was then a monk in the Culdee monaſtery of Saint Andrews; where it is certain, however, that he died in 943, having reſigned his crown in 938 to *Malcolm*; but whether the Malcolm juſt mentioned, or another of that name, has by ſome been doubted. He was moſt probably the ſame, but whoever he was, as he ſaw his kingdom and ſubjects in a wretched plight, he cultivated peace; till, having by his great care, ſoon recovered their former condition, he became ally to Edmund of England; that monarch having previouſly reſtored Cumberland. Some add, that in conſideration of this grant, Malcolm agreed to attend the Engliſh king at all his feſtivals and parliaments. Malcolm, having aſſiſted the Engliſh in taking Northumberland, returned home; and being ſevere in the adminiſtration of juſtice, was murdered by ſome villains at Ulrine, in the county of Murray, in the ninth year of his reign.

Malcolm. A. D. 938.

Induff. 947.

On Malcolm's aſſaſſination, *Induff*, the ſon of Conſtantine, acceded to the crown. In his reign, mention is made of a Daniſh invaſion; but with no proper degree of authenticity. The Scots are likewiſe ſaid to have recovered, under this king, the city of Edinburgh, which ſome report to have been alternately poſſeſſed by the Danes and Saxons.

Induff dying in the year 961, was ſucceeded by Malcolm's ſon *Duff*, who proved a virtuous prince, and was particularly careful to ſuppreſs robberies. As the reign of this king was barren of events, Buchanan has ſup-

Duff. 961.

plied

plied that defect from his own fancy. He tells a ſtory, that ſome perſons ſaw a waxen image of king Duff on a ſpit, before a large fire raiſed by witches, who reported that Duff's body ſhould really melt like that wax; which this hiſtorian gravely ſays did literally happen.

Duff dying in 965, the crown devolved on Induff's ſon, *Culen*, who proving a moſt execrable monſter, his kingdom, from his bad example, became the ſeat of fraud and rapine. This brute having raviſhed the daughter of Cadard, thane of Fife, the father took an opportunity ſoon after to diſpatch him. *Keneth*, ſon of Malcolm, then aſcending the throne in 970, by his wiſdom and conduct eſtabliſhed good order and government. He is ſaid, likewiſe, to have made a law, that drunkenneſs ſhould be puniſhed with death, and that his ſubjects ſhould eat but one meal a-day. Matters were ſcarcely ſettled to his ſatisfaction, before a conſiderable fleet of Danes paid him a very unwelcome viſit. Keneth collecting his forces, and conjuring them for the ſake of their lives and liberty to ſtand boldly againſt theſe enemies, who, he told them, were alſo foes to honor, truth and juſtice, promiſed a conſiderable reward for every Daniſh head. Notwithſtanding which, it ſeems, that, in the battle, the Scots were ſeized with a ſudden panic, and were flying with the greateſt precipitation, till a yeoman of the name of Hay and his two ſons, ſtopt their inglorious countrymen at a narrow paſs; and partly by threats and blows having made an halt, perſuaded them to face the enemy. Hay and his ſons then, armed only with the yokes which they had juſt uſed at plow, leading the van, the Danes were totally defeated. After the battle, the king gave Hay the Barony of Errol as a reward for his ſignal ſervices.

Culen. A. D. 965.

Keneth 3d. 970.

Keneth,

Keneth, being now at peace, began to conſider of his ſon's ſucceſſion, and to that end, having cauſed the perſon whom his people had made prince of Cumberland to be aſſaſſinated, he repealed the old law, which made the crown devolve on the uncle, brother or nephew, rather than on the ſon of a king, and eſpecially if a minor. But notwithſtanding all his care, he was ſucceeded on his death in 994 by *Conſtantine*, ſon of Culen, who, by the aſſiſtance of friends, got the crown in ſpite of the late act in favour of Malcolm, Keneth's ſon, who was obliged to fly for his life; till being afterwards aſſiſted by Keneth, his natural-brother, Conſtantine, in 996, was defeated and ſlain.

Conſtantine 4th. A. D. 994.

Grim, grandſon to king Duff, inſiſting by the old law on his right to the throne, accordingly acceded to it; ſo that Malcolm was again diſappointed. War would in all probability have therefore raged afreſh, if the good biſhop Tothad had not undertaken to accommodate matters between Malcolm and Grim: the following conditions drawn up by him were mutually agreed to, "That Grim enjoy the crown during his life; that it then revert to Malcolm; and after his death, *to the next of kin:* That in conſideration of Grim's preſent enjoyment of the crown, all the lands, between the Forth and Tweed and the Forth and Clyde be in the mean time granted to Malcolm." The crown being thus ſecured to Grim for his life, he grew ſo tyranical, that the people began to wiſh that they had choſen Malcolm in his ſtead; and accordingly applying to him for redreſs, he raiſed a large army, and encountering as great an one which Grim, notwithſtanding his behaviour, was ſtill maſter of, he routed his forces; and the king being ſlain, Malcolm at laſt, in the year 1004, aſcended the throne of Scotland.

Grim. 996.

Having come thus far in the affairs of the ſtate, it is neceſſary to look back upon thoſe of the church.

To

CHURCH HISTORY.

To determine when Scotland received the first light of Christianity, is no easy matter. Eastern missionaries are said to have made many converts there in the third century; and not to mention their patron St. Andrew, some have affirmed that the disciples of the apostle John, and even that Paul himself preached there. But this is merely conjecture; for the Druids pretty generally governed them much later. Palladius, however, was the first bishop sent from Rome; and his mission from pope Celestine was in 430. His memory was exceedingly dear to the Scots; whom he in a great measure converted from paganism by his wisdom, learning and moderation; and in 1494, William Shevez, archbishop of St. Andrews, visiting Padie church at Fordon, where he had been interred, collected his bones and deposited them in a silver urn. In the sixth century flourished the famous Columba, who crowned king Aidan, and founded the celebrated abbey at Iona. He was a divine, a poet, and an historian. In the first character, he is said to have used so much austerity and maceration, which were the cardinal virtues of those superstitious times, that he reduced himself to almost a skeleton: he died at an advanced age in 603. Mungo and St. Bridget were his co-temporaries, during whose lives, there were many disputes with the Romish bishops of England, concerning the idle celebration of Easter. The Scots kept that feast in the eastern manner, on the 14th day of the moon Nisan, or March, on whatever day of the week it happened; but the English, after the church of Rome, kept it on the first Sunday after the 14th day; and it became at last a matter of such consequence, that after many jarrings for half a century, bishop Colman, for Scotland, in 651, undertook to dispute the point with Agilbert, bishop of the West-Saxons, in presence of Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, who was to be the umpire of the controversy. After much

much learned argumentation, when reference was made to Oſwald, he aſked whether they both agreed that St. Peter was the door-keeper of heaven? and being anſwered in the affirmative; then ſays the ridiculous king, I will follow his rules in every thing, leſt when I come to heaven, he ſhould ſhut the gates againſt me.

Biſhop Adamnan, a learned and worthy prelate, who ſucceeded Colman, reconciled the Scots and Engliſh in this reſpect. He likewiſe procured the marriage of Spondona, the daughter of the Pictiſh king; and by this act and many other good offices, he very much conciliated the affections of the Scots and Picts. In 697, Boniface, archbiſhop of Mentz, came into Scotland, and it is ſaid, was offered the crown, which he refuſed. He built a church near Angus, and at Telin, and at Reſtnoth; ſettling at laſt at Roſmarky, after having built a church there, he died. Prince Fiacre, nephew to king Aidan, went over to France about this time, and ſequeſtered himſelf in a cave, which no entreaties could prevail with him to quit: many churches in France are dedicated to his memory.

'Till the year 870, there were no biſhops of St. Andrews; that ſee, which included the counties of Fife, Lothian, Merſe, Sterling, Angus, and Mearns, was then given to Adrian, who ſhortly after was killed by the Danes in the Iſle of May; from that time they had a regular ſucceſſion; being firſt elected in Scotland, and then ſent over to Rome for confirmation. It was erected into an archbiſhoprick by Pope Sextus 4th in 1472; the poſſeſſor was declared Primate of Scotland, and the revenues at the reformation amounted in Scotch money to £. 2904. 17. 2. which is about £. 250. ſterling. Glaſgow, is ſaid to have been founded near three hundred years ſooner; Alexander the 6th erected that likewiſe into an archbiſhoprick in 1494; and at the reformation, its revenues appeared to be £. 987. 8. 7. beſides meal, malt, and ſalmon.

There

There is a diſpute whether the biſhoprick of Gal-
way or of Orkney is the more ancient; however,
is agreed, that both were eſtabliſhed in the ſixth
entury; the revenues of the former, were found at
e reformation to be worth £. 1137. 11. 8. in
oney; the latter only £. 251. 2. 6. excluſive of
utter, oil, wax, wood, fleſh, and poultry. On
e planting of religion in Scotland, ſhe is ſaid to
ve been very prolific of men of learning and cha-
cter: among whom Rabanus Maurus and Mai-
ulphus, the former of whom writ expoſitions on
e whole ſcriptures, and the latter a number of
xcellent tracts, (all however loſt to us) were unani-
ouſly celebrated: they both died at the cloſe of
e eighth century; and the no leſs famous Joannes
rigena in the century following.

Malcolm, in doubt, as to the right hich his father, and a majority of s nobility, might have to make m heir to the crown, and thereby eſtabliſh for the ture a lineal ſucceſſion; would not mount the rone till the nobility were pretty unanimous that was legal. He then ſuffered himſelf to be crowned; nd having forgiven every one that had taken up ms under Grim, whoſe body he ordered to be uried with his anceſtors, he made his grandſon, uncan, his heir, and accordingly Prince of Cum-rland, deſpairing, as he was then in years, of aving any male iſſue. He was particularly careful preſerve peace with England; but Ethelred, by s cruel maſſacre of the Danes, having excited wein then king to revenge; that monarch, who as father to Canute the Great, becoming maſter England, determined alſo to invade Scotland. e accordingly equipped a fleet, and landed near lurray; where he defeated ſome troops, which alcolm had haſtily collected to ſtop his progreſs. luſhed with this ſucceſs, he conſidered the king-om as already ſubdued; but Malcolm having muſ-

Malcolm 2d. 1004.

tered

tered all the troops in his power, reſolved to decid the fate of his kingdom by one general battle. Th Scots fought for every thing ſacred and valuable they charged, therefore, with ſuch determined reſo lution, that, though victory ſeemed often again them, the Danes, after a moſt terrible carnage were routed. Carnus, their general, was ſlain in th purſuit by Keith, a young nobleman who command ed the clan of Caithneſs. Another Scotch office however diſputing the honour with him, it was de cided as uſual in thoſe days after the battle by ſin gle combat. Keith getting the better, the king dip ped his finger in the officer's blood, and made thre marks on the conqueror's ſhield, ſaying at the ſam time, *veritas vincit*; and hence aroſe the arms an motto of his deſcendants. After this ſignal victory it is reported that Malcolm in gratitude divided mo of his lands amongſt his ſoldiers, reſerving for him ſelf little elſe than the Muſehill of Scone.

The Scots were but juſt recovered, when anothe army from Swein, under the command of his ſo Canute, landed in Scotland. Over this attempt we learn, that Malcolm was ſufficiently victorious to make the following peace; "That the Dane ſhould leave Scotland, on condition that the Scot would not aſſiſt their enemies." Matters thus con tinued till the acceſſion of Canute to the Engliſh throne, when Duncan, refuſing to pay homage t him for his principality of Cumberland, conſiderin himſelf as bound only to the Saxons, and Canut preparing to compel him, Malcolm marched to hi grandſon's aſſiſtance; but before the diſpute cam to a battle, Duncan, by the advice of his clergy agreed to perform it. This Affair being concluded Malcolm returned and cultivated the arts of peace.

There ſtill remained, notwithſtanding all the ge neroſity of Malcolm, a few, who were the friend of his predeceſſor Grim. Theſe, it is ſaid, ſought on ly for a convenient opportunity to diſpatch Mal colm

olm; which they effected when the good king, ow eighty years of age, was at his caſtle of Glamis. But after the wretches had perpetrated he deed, propoſing to eſcape by going over Forfar ake, which was then frozen, the ice gave way, nd they were all drowned. Malcolm, thus bararouſly murthered, was doubtleſs one of the greateſt rinces that ever ſwayed the Scottiſh ſcepter; and ome hiſtorians have farther conſidered him as leiſlator of Scotland.

Duncan. 1034.

In 1034, he was ſucceeded by his randſon *Duncan*, whoſe lenity in gooernment ſeems to have given birth to a ebellion, raiſed by one Macdowel; againſt whom, Banquo, thane of Lochabar, and Macbeth, the king's ouſin, being ſent with troops, he and his clan were eſtroyed. On their return, they found the Danes, nder the command of Canute's brother, Swein, inading the kingdom; they therefore ſpeedily joined he forces which Duncan himſelf had raiſed and eaded; and the Danes being with ſome difficulty outed, repaired to their ſhips, ſet ſail, and never iſited Scotland afterwards.

Duncan, now at peace, endeavoured to reform his kingdom; while Macbeth, who was become very popular, ſtrove to get the crown. The fable of the three weird ſiſters, who hailed him thane of Glamis, thane of Cawder, and laſtly king of Scotland, is well known. Macbeth was at the head of a ſtrong party, who favoured the old eſtabliſhment; and being nephew to the king, imagined that if he were dead, he could eaſily obtain the crown. Accordingly, he determined to ſacrifice his uncle; and his wife, being privy to the deſign, urged him to a ſpeedy execution of it. He therefore murthered Duncan at Inverneſs, where he happened to be in courſe of a yearly circuit, which he uſed to take round his dominions, in order to adjuſt the quarrels and redreſs

Macbeth. A. D. 1040.

redreſs the grievances of his ſubjects. *Macbeth* was now crowned at Scone, and acknowledged as king of Scotland. But Duncan's two ſons, Malcolm and Donald, ſurnamed Bane, (or the Fair) who had eluded the ſnares which he had laid for them, gave him great uneaſineſs. Malcolm, the lawful heir of the throne, had fled into England, and his brother into the Ebrides or Weſtern Iſles, where he conſidered them as forming ſchemes to diſpoſſeſs him of the crown. This thought, added to the checks of that upright arbiter conſcience, made him ſuſpicious and cruel. Banquo, the very man who had aſſiſted him in attaining the crown, he treacherouſly put to death. His ſon Fleance eſcaping, alarmed the nobility, ſo that moſt of them retired to their reſpective caſtles. On this behaviour of his nobles, finding himſelf ſuſpected, he advanced into open tyranny. Macduff, thane of Fife, a man of power, was thought to be attached to Malcolm, the king's ſon. Macbeth therefore devoted him to deſtruction, and went to his caſtle for that purpoſe; but the thane receiving a hint thereof eſcaped. The cruel king, on this diſappointment, inhumanly put to death his wife, his children, and his ſervants. While he was thus butchering with unremitting cruelty, Macduff had reached England, where meeting prince Malcolm, he propoſed that he ſhould aſk aſſiſtance of the Engliſh to regain his throne; to which Malcolm, who had previouſly ſounded Macduff and found him loyal, agreed. Accordingly king Edward furniſhed him with 10,000 men, with which, under the command of Sibard, prince of Northumberland, his mother's father, they entered Scotland. Macbeth, thro' his cruelties, having now none but a few mercenaries to ſtand by him, retreated to the caſtle of Dunſinan, from which, on the approach of Malcolm, he fled; but being

ing purſued, he was overtaken and killed by the jured Macduff.

Thus fell Macbeth in the year 1056; according Buchanan, he was ten years a good king, and ven the worſt of tyrants.

Malcolm, ſurnamed Canmore, *i. e.* reathead, being thus, after a long ile, reſtored to his country, was de- ared king; tho' not till Macbeth's ſon Lulach, hom a faction had ſet up in oppoſition to him, was feated and ſlain. He began his reign with acts of atitude; the emotions of which, tho' a ſure indica- on of a noble and generous diſpoſition, princes, in neral, ſeem to have ſmothered. To Macduff, who d been ſo greatly inſtrumental towards his reſtora- on, and to his poſterity, he gave the privilege of owning future kings, and the poſt of honour in all eir royal armies. Malcolm next reinſtated thoſe ho had been deprived of their eſtates by Macbeth. In eſe and other liberal actions he was engaged, when illiam the Conqueror having reduced England, dgar Atheling, the laſt male branch of the Saxon e, giving up all hopes of ſucceeding to the crown, returning to Hungary, with his mother Agatha d his ſiſters Margaret and Chriſtiana, was, by ſtreſs of weather, driven into Scotland. Malcolm eated them kindly, and becoming very ſoon ena- oured with Margaret, he married her. William ving intelligence of the affair, and imagining that would raiſe factions in favour of Edgar, de- anded that Malcolm ſhould give him up, which ing refuſed, William in conſequence declared ar with Scotland. After many battles with vari- s ſucceſs, a peace was concluded between the two ngdoms on the following terms; "That Edgar nounce all claim to the crown of England; that Engliſh exiles ſhould henceforth be admitted in- Scotland; and that Malcolm ſhould do homage William for part of his dominions;" ſome hiſ- rians ſay for all Scotland.

Malcolm 3d. A. D. 1057.

Peace

Peace was ſcarcely declared with England ere a formidable band of robbers infeſted the counties of Lothian and Merſe, who were at laſt, with difficulty extirpated. Malcolm now enjoying perfect tranquility, began a reformation in his court, which was rather diſſolute; in this he was aſſiſted by his queen, a woman of the greateſt piety, virtue, and accompliſhments. She was the perſon who, 'tis ſaid, aboliſhed a law, made by Evenus, an imaginary king before Fergus, which permitted the monarch to lie with a nobleman's wife, and a nobleman with his vaſſal's. A learned antiquary denies that ſuch an infamous law ever exiſted, and his arguments are pretty concluſive. He defines this Marcheta Mulierum, as it was called, to have been really a fine of ſheep or oxen payable to the queen on the marriage of every female ſubject; which it is therefore very likely that Margaret might only leſſen. This affair, like the introduction of the feudal law, will probably always be a controverted point. They both perhaps came from England; and the feudal law, which granted to the head of a clan implicit obedience from a ſet of vaſſals who held lands under him, was probably not introduced till this reign, and after the Norman conqueſt; tho' many maintain that it was founded by Fergus. However, it is certain, that Malcolm was the firſt who introduced Engliſh cuſtoms, manners, language, and titles into Scotland. He created Macduff earl of Fife, the firſt who received that dignity; he alſo created barons, and gave thoſe nobles, who ſerved him in perſon or in the ſtate, their reſpective titles; for before his time, there were no other than knight and thane. Walter, who according to report, was Banquo's grandſon, and had quelled the rebels in Lothian and Merſe, he created his high ſteward. And as ſurnames began now to take place from the offices or lands which a man enjoyed, Stewart became the name of his family, which,

which, as it will appear in the ſequel, came afterwards to the thrones of both Scotland and England.

While Malcolm was thus employing himſelf, William Rufus ſucceeded his father the conqueror. Growing jealous of Edgar, to whom his father on the peace with Scotland, had granted eſtates in Normandy, he began to diſtreſs him; and as Malcolm took part with his brother, it occaſioned a war. Malcolm, in conſequence entered England, and having made a conſiderable booty, retired. Rufus, to repair his loſs, determined to invade Scotland; and tho' he actually landed forces there, yet before any battle enſued, Malcolm and he came to an accomodation: "Edgar was to enjoy his eſtates; and Malcolm, on receiving yearly twelve gold marks, agreed to pay homage to Rufus for certain lands which he held in England." As this treaty was often diſregarded by Rufus, Malcolm went in perſon to him at Glouceſter, in order to ſettle it firmly. Rufus is here ſaid to have refuſed ſeeing him, and to have demanded ſuch extraordinary homage, that Malcolm, enraged at the inſult, levied forces, and beſieged the caſtle of Northumberland; in a ſally from which, on the 6th of June 1093, both he and his ſon were ſlain, the former according to Scotch hiſtorians, by Mowbray, the governor of the caſtle, with a ſpear, on which, in token of ſubmiſſion, he tendered the keys; the latter in revenging his father's murder.

Malcolm, who had reigned thirty-ſix years, was certainly a prince of great abilities, and tho' his temper was naturally ferocious, it was greatly ſoftened by the engaging one of his wife Margaret, who ſurvived him but a few days. He had iſſue ſix ſons and two daughters; Edward juſt mentioned, Edmund and Ethelred, who died in England, Edgar, Alexander and David, who ſucceeded to the crown; Matilda, or Maud, afterwards queen of England, and Mary counteſs of Bononia.

Tho'

Donaldbane. A. D. 1093. Tho' Malcolm had taken great pains to ſettle the lineal ſucceſſion, *Donaldbane*, who during the reign of his brother had kept himſelf in the iſles, now made his appearance at the head of a ſtrong party in favor of the old collateral ſucceſſion. The late king, by his ſtrong attachment to his brother-in-law Edgar Atheling, and by ſettling eſtates on the exiles, who followed his fortune, had greatly diſobliged his nobility. Theſe and other unpopular circumſtances, joined to the minority of his ſurviving ſons, made it no very difficult matter for Donaldbane to oppoſe a law, not yet ſo ancient as to be much regarded; ſo that it is very probable to imagine, that he came to the crown without the aid of Magnus the barefoot king of Norway; tho' ſome have aſſerted that Magnus received the principality of the iſles for his aſſiſtance. Donald, however, was crown'd at Scone; and immediately he expelled the foreigners who were his brother's favorites; before which Edgar Atheling having advice of Donald's proceedings, had gotten his brother's children to the Engliſh court; where there was likewiſe, one Duncan, a natural ſon, who had long ſerved in Rufus's army, and was very much in favor. Him Rufus encouraged to diſpoſſeſs Donald; which, with the aſſiſtance of Engliſh troops, he accordingly performed. After which he claimed the crown himſelf, tho' the Scots thought that he was acting in behalf of Malcolm's heir; but being then in no condition to refuſe him, they were obliged to comply. Soon after, Malpedir, earl of Mearns, killed him, while he ſlept in the caſtle of Monteith, and then reſtored his employer Donald.

Duncan. 1095.

Malcolm's ſon, Edgar, being now of age, and having by his uncle's intereſt obtained a ſufficient number of Engliſh forces, entered Scotland at the head of them. Force ſeemed needleſs; for the

Scots, during the uſurpations, had been ſo greatly harraſſed, that they no ſooner beheld their prince, than they flocked to his ſtandard; and leaving Donald defenceleſs, he was taken and impriſoned for life.

Edgar, thus, anno 1098, acceded to the throne of his father: And, as his people ſeemed to wiſh for peace, he therefore preſerved it; ſo that nothing happened in his reign more memorable than the marriage of his ſiſter Matilda to Henry I. of England. Nor are the affairs of the church in this century very remarkable; excepting that

Edgar. A. D. 1098.

CHURCH.

Malcolm Canmore, in the beginning of his reign, founded the biſhoprics of Murray and Caithneſs. The value of the former was, at the reformation, in money £. 1649. 7. 7. of the latter £. 1283. 19; beſides oatmeal, ſheep, and poultry. The ſame king is ſaid to have laid the foundation of the cathedral at Durham.

It may be obſerved, that in this century, the Scots were exceedingly well received in Germany; where 15 monaſteries were founded, by a prince of that nation, who had ſerved in the wars of Charlemagne; and all the abbots were natives of Scotland.

Mention is made in this century of three perſons who rendered themſelves particularly famous in Scotland, by their learning and piety. Turgot, prior of Durham, and Veremudus, archdeacon of St. Andrew's; they both wrote chronicles of their times, which are no where however now to be found; but the hiſtory of Marianus Scotus, which commenced from the creation, and ended at 1083 of the Chriſtian æra, is ſtill preſerved.

Alexander, ſucceeding Edgar, rendered himſelf obnoxious to his nobility, by the ſeverity of his behaviour towards

Alexander 1ſt. 1107.

towards them, and his indulgence to the clergy. This raiſed a rebellion, which being with ſome difficulty quelled, he then abated his rigor, and applied himſelf almoſt wholly to religious matters; ſo that there is nothing in his reign more remarkable than the introduction of ſilver coin; firſt pennies, and afterwards marks; but of what value they were according to the preſent calculation is unknown.

He died on the 8th of May, 1124; and having never been married, was ſucceeded by his brother *David*; who, ſhortly after his coronation, viſited his brother-in-law Henry, whoſe daughter, Maud, being by the ſudden death of her brother heireſs to the crown, David promiſed Henry to maintain her right to it. Henry dying ſoon after, he had occaſion to perform his engagement; for the throne was immediately uſurped by Stephen, who likewiſe in a very haughty manner ordered David to do him homage, for the lands of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntingdon. David called him an uſurper, and acquainting him with his promiſe to Henry, he prepared to aſſiſt Maud; who now, in 1139, had come over from Germany, with her brother the earl of Glouceſter. To mention the particulars of the civil war which enſued, would be as tedious as unintereſting. Suffice it therefore to ſay, that notwithſtanding the haughty and abſurd behavior of Maud, nothing could ſhake the fidelity of David; who never left her, till he had put Stephen in her power. Her unaccountable behavior in then refuſing the crown, led him to conſult the ſafety of his own. He therefore concluded an advantageous peace with Stephen, who ſoon after adopted Maud's ſon Henry (by the earl of Anjou) as his heir. Some ſay that Stephen intended that honor to David's ſon Henry, who certainly was in great favor with him, and reſided many years in England. But that excellent prince, who was adored by the Scots,

David. A.D. 1124.

died in 1150, four years prior to the death of Stephen. David ſickening at the loſs of his only ſon, (by Matilda, niece to William the Conqueror) ended a ſplendid reign of 29 years, at Carliſle, on the 24th of May, 1153.

David, who left behind him the greateſt character for valor, and its uſual concomitant generoſity, was a prince of piety; and he is conſidered by many to have compiled that ſyſtem of Scotch laws called *Regium Majeſtatem*; but the Engliſh give that work to their own judge Glanville.

Malcolm 4th. A.D. 1153.

On the death of David, his grandſon *Malcolm* ſurnamed, from his vow of celibacy, the *maiden*, ſucceeded to the throne. In the beginning of his reign, Somerled, the ambitious Thane of Argyle, put himſelf at the head of a large army, conſiſting partly of his own vaſſals, and partly of lawleſs perſons, driven to his ſtandard by the love of plunder, or a conſciouſneſs of guilt, and began to ravage the country. But the celebrated Gilchriſt, earl of Angus, being ſent againſt him, gave him a total defeat, and obliged him to fly for refuge into Ireland, where he probably died; for that he came over again and renewed his depredations, as ſome report, is very much to be doubted. Gilchriſt, after this, cruſhed ſeveral leſs rebellions, and had juſt reſtored peace in Scotland, when an extraordinary meſſage was ſent to Malcolm, from Henry II, of England. This monarch, who uſed to ſay, that the whole world was but ſufficient for one great man, deſired that Malcolm would either give up Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, or prepare to defend them. The Scotch nobility were enraged at the inſolence of the demand; but Malcolm, fond of peace and retirement, made a compoſition, and gave up the two former counties, on condition that on doing homage he ſhould quietly enjoy Huntington. His nobles, diſguſted at this

ſubmiſſion, obliged him to declare war againſt Henry for recovery of Northumberland and Cumberland; but in a peace, which he very ſoon concluded, he gave up all right and title to the former; and Henry ceding the latter to him as a fief of England, Malcolm then devoted himſelf wholly to his monks, amongſt whom, in 1165, he ended his days; for the alienation which he made of Northumberland, and a ſcandalous puſillanimity, apparent in every part of his conduct, rendered his perſon and authority contemptible.

William. A. D. 1165. His brother *William*, ſurnamed *Lyon*, ſucceeding him, inſtantly demanded, at the inſtigation of the nobles, the reſtoration of Northumberland. Henry put him off from time to time, till William determined to recover it by force of arms. He accordingly commenced a war; but in the firſt battle (through an error in the diviſion of his troops) he was taken priſoner by a party of the enemy in Scotch habits; and immediately, in a very ignominious manner, hurried away to Richmond. After which, he was conducted to Henry in France, who committed him to the caſtle of Falaiſe. Here the captive-king, impatient under confinement, on the promiſe of his own liberty, gave up that of his country. For William was ſcarcely returned to his people, before Henry and his ſon (whom to prevent any difficulty in the ſucceſſion, he had made co-partner in the government) ordered William and his brothers and barons to attend them at York, where the former did homage for *all* Scotland; and the latter ſwore fealty to Henry againſt William their king, if he ſhould at any time refuſe to acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of England. What could induce ſuch a nobility as the Scotch (who on leſs intereſting circumſtances had manifeſted the greateſt reſolution,) to ratify this ſcandalous treaty is really ſurpriſing; eſpecially as William on his return,

return, pleaded that it was extorted by force. Whatever was the reaſon, it appears that Henry's ſucceſſor Richard, in conſideration of 10,000 marks of ſilver (a vaſt ſum however at that time) remitted the homage for *all* Scotland; and gave him poſſeſſion of Cumberland, Weſtmoreland and Lancaſter, as a feodary of England, in the manner of his anceſtors. William, for this favour, aſſiſted him in a cruſade, and baffled the deſign of his brother John, who, during Richard's abſence, would have uſurped the throne. Richard, in gratitude, paſſed a charter, "That whenever the king of Scotland ſhould be ſummoned to the court of England, the biſhop of Durham and the Sheriff of Northumberland ſhould receive him at the river Tweed, and attend him to the Teiſe; that the archbiſhop of York and ſheriff of Yorkſhire, ſhould receive and conduct him to the borders of that county, and ſo the biſhops of each dioceſe, with the ſheriffs, ſhould attend him from county to county, till he arrived at the Engliſh court. That from the time he entered England, he ſhould receive from the king one hundred ſhillings per day for his expences: when at court, thirty in money; twelve of the king's fine loaves; as many biſcuits of fine wheat; four gallons of his beſt and eight of his common wine; two pounds both of pepper and cinnamon; two cakes of wax about twelve pounds each; four wax candles, forty long, and eighty common ones; and that on his quitting the kingdom, he ſhould be re-conducted by the biſhops and ſheriffs, with the ſame allowance of an hundred ſhillings per day." This grant, which bears date the 12th of April 1194, freed the Scots from a great expence, as well as from that diſgraceful part of feudal ſubmiſſion, attending the court of England on the moſt trifling occaſions. Upon the death of Richard, William renewed his homage for his Engliſh lands to his ſucceſſor John. He alſo made a faint effort to recover Northumber-

land, which Richard, notwithſtanding his great regard, had ſtill kept himſelf; but it never afterwards was conſidered as part of Scotland.

John had built a fort at Berwick, with which William was diſſatisfied; and the former, who was not on very good terms with his people, was glad of any pretext to keep his army in motion. He therefore quarrelled with William concerning this fort, and marched to the confines of Scotland, where William had prepared for his reception. Here both kings, who in many particulars were much alike, concluded a treaty without bloodſhed: John received 11000 marks of ſilver, demoliſhed the fort, and promiſing that it ſhould not be rebuilt, marched his army back again. This action, except quelling an inſurrection, which had been raiſed in Caithneſs by one Godred, was the laſt that William performed, who continuing a faithful ally to John, died after a few years of uninterrupted but ſhameful tranquillity in the 74th year of his age. He appears throughout his very long reign of forty-nine years, to have been weak and irreſolute: the brighteſt ſide of his character was the ſacrificing his own honour and grandeur to his peoples eaſe and happineſs. By his wife Ermengarda he had a ſon, Alexander his ſucceſſor, and two daughters, Margery who was married to the famous Hubert de Burgh; and Iſabel, (whom Henry 3d. would have married himſelf had his peers been willing) to the earl marſhal of England.

CHURCH. In reſpect to eccleſiaſtical affairs during this century, it appears that Alexander the 1ſt founded the abbies of Scone and St. Columba, and was beſides a great benefactor to the ſee of St. Andrews. His ſucceſſor David, beſides founding the abbies of Jedburgh, Kelſoe, Melroſe, Newbottle, Holyroodhouſe, and Kinloſſe, erected, in 1137, the biſhoprick of Roſs, valued at £.1653. 16. 9.; in 1130, Dunkeld, valued at £.1595. 10. 4.; in 1140, Brechin

chin valued at £.410. 4. 0.; and in 1142, Dumblain, valued at £.313. In the year 1175, it was propoſed to the Scots to elect the archbiſhop of York for their metropolitan, which event was prevented from taking place, chiefly through the ſpirited behaviour of a young canon, named Gilbert, for which ſervice he was afterwards promoted to the biſhoprick of Caithneſs. King William was alſo a great friend to the clergy; among other benefactions, he founded to the memory of Thomas-à-Becket, the abby of Aberbrothwick; and afterwards he erected another at Lindores. This king was ſo much in favour with pope Innocent the 3d. that he ſent him a rich ſword, a purple hat in form of a diadem, with a large bull of privileges, in which it was declared, that no one ſhould have power to excommunicate him or his ſucceſſors, or yet to interdict the kingdom, but the pope or his legate; and further, that no ſtranger ſhould exerciſe any ſuch legation within the realm, except a cardinal, or a perſon whom the conclave ſhould appoint.

Alexander was but ſixteen years of age when he came to the crown; but he behaved with ſuch ſenſe and ſpirit that many Engliſh barons put themſelves under his protection, againſt the tyranny of John of England, who was ſo exaſperated at this behaviour, that he invaded and ravaged many parts of Scotland. The young king now met John near the river Eſk, on which John retreated, and ſtopped a quick purſuit by ſetting fire to towns as he quitted them. Alexander, by theſe means, not being able to overtake him, returned from Richmond thro' Weſtmoreland. *Alexander* 2d. A. D. 1214.

On John's return to London, the Engliſh, unable to bear his tyranny, had invited over Lewis, ſon to the king of France. Lewis accordingly came over, and on his arrival in London, the barons and

citizens took the oath of allegiance to him. Tho' this prince was never crowned king of England, he acted in every thing as ſovereign; and accordingly Alexander, purſuant to his ſummons, did homage to him for what lands he held of that crown. The friendſhip which had always ſubſiſted between the courts of France and Scotland, made Alexander moſt heartily eſpouſe the cauſe of Lewis. He therefore made head againſt John, who with a pack of mercenaries was ravaging Carliſle and Northumberland. He diſpoſſeſſed him of theſe places in right of Lewis, whoſe affairs however, very ſoon declining, owing to the pope's ſentence of excommunication againſt his adherents, Alexander withdrew his aſſiſtance. Lewis was ſoon obliged intirely to quit the kingdom, on Henry the 3d. John's ſon being crowned king, between whom and Alexander there ſeems to have been perfect peace; the Scotch monarch in order to eſtabliſh it, having in 1221 married his eldeſt ſiſter Joan.

Whilſt he thus lived on good terms with England, one Gilleſpy took arms at the head of a number of lawleſs free-booters, and committed the moſt terrible ravages in Murray and places adjacent. He conſumed the town of Inverneſs to aſhes, and ſlaughtered the inhabitants with great cruelty. He was at laſt ſubdued, and himſelf and two of his ſons being taken, they were beheaded. Another inſurrection was ſoon after raiſed by the baſtard ſon of the laird of Galloway, who had left his lands to his three daughters. When Alexander prepared to chaſtiſe him, being almoſt deſerted by his followers, he threw himſelf at his feet, and the king, after having righted his ſiſters, generouſly pardoned him. In 1235, Scotland being at reſt after her inteſtine diſturbances, which are frequently the moſt fatal to a kingdom, Alexander and his queen paid a viſit to their brother Henry, on account, as ſome ſay, of the diſgrace of Hubert de Burgh, who was likewiſe

his

his brother-in-law. During his ſtay at court, a diſpute ſeems to have happened concerning Northumberland, the right to which had by former kings been ſo often diſputed. It was at laſt ſettled that Henry ſhould allow yearly eighty marks in lieu of it. On the return of Alexander to his own court, having loſt his wife whilſt in England, and having had no iſſue by her, he was adviſed to marry the daughter of Eugelram de Cuſſey, a powerful French nobleman, which he accordingly did. And ſome hiſtorians report, that this marriage was the ground of a quarrel which afterwards happened with England; tho' others maintain that it aroſe from a demand made on Alexander by Henry to do him homage for his kingdom, as William had done to his predeceſſor. Whatever was the occaſion of the quarrel, it ſubſided without much bloodſhed; and in 1241, it was agreed that Alexander's infant ſon ſhould marry the daughter of Henry. Scotland being again at peace, a party of volunteers went to the aſſiſtance of Lewis of France, who was engaged in a cruſade againſt the infidels, from which ſcarcely one of them returned. Soon after this circumſtance, Alexander formed a deſign of ſubduing the Ebrides; and it is ſaid, made great preparations to that end, in the midſt of which, he was ſeized by a fever, and died much lamented in the 51ſt year of his age, and the thirty-fifth of his glorious reign. He was certainly a ſpirited and wealthy prince, was the firſt who bore the lyon for his arms, and appears by his juſtice, piety, addreſs, and good-nature, to have been greatly beloved, not only by his own ſubjects, but by thoſe of England.

He left no iſſue beſide *Alexander*, *Alexander* 3d, who ſucceeded him in the 9th year of his age, and was crowned at Scone on the 15th of Auguſt in great pomp. In the firſt years of this young king's reign, the factious and powerful family of Cumins created much uneaſineſs through-

A. D. 1249.

throughout the realm, carrying a high hand over the reſt of the nobility and gentry. To check their proceedings, it was deemed neceſſary to haſten the king's marriage; he therefore in 1252, with a grand retinue, ſet out for that purpoſe; and being met at York by the king and queen of England, the nuptials were there ſolemnized, on chriſtmas-day, in the preſence of a number of nobility and clergy. Henry, here would fain have received homage for all the Scotch dominions, but the young king was ſufficiently on his guard, replying to Henry's demand, that marriage was the only buſineſs which he then came to execute, nor could he tranſact any other without the concurrence of his nobility. Henry on this anſwer, declared that he had no thoughts to ſap the independency of Scotland; Alexander choſe him for his guardian and then returned to his kingdom. The clan of the Cumins, now rumoured about that Alexander, by making himſelf the ward of Henry, endangered the liberties of his country; on which pretext, it is ſaid, they confined the young couple in Edinburgh caſtle; and, beſide treating them otherways cruelly, debarred them from each others embraces. The queen however, had the addreſs to acquaint her father of theſe proceedings; who immediately came into Scotland, and uſing great circumſpection and judgment, reſtored them to their dignity. Their jailors ſubmitting to be fined for their behaviour, Henry left the Scots perfectly ſatisfied with the rectitude of his actions, and returned to England, leaving Alexander now at age to manage his ſubjects himſelf. The king ſoon gained, by his juſtice and moderation, the entire confidence of his people; but a ſtorm was now gathering, which had almoſt wrecked the liberty of the whole kingdom.

Malcolm Canmore's brother, Donaldbane, on the uſurpation of Macbeth, had taken refuge in the Ebrides or Weſtern Iſles, which were then, and had ever ſince been,

been, in the poſſeſſion of the king of Norway. Theſe Ebrides, it has been obſerved, Alexander the 2d. intended, had he lived, to have annexed to his dominions. The recollection of this circumſtance, joined to the tender age of his ſucceſſor, ſeems to have ſuggeſted to Haco, king of Norway, a deſign no leſs bold than the invaſion of Scotland. As a pretext, he told Alexander, that Donaldbane had promiſed his predeceſſor Magnus, in token of gratification for his protection and ſervices, that Bute and Arran ſhould be conſidered as part of the Ebrides. Haco therefore deſired that they might be immediately given up to him; but on a refuſal, having every thing ready for his intended invaſion, he came over, on the 1ſt of Auguſt 1263, with a fleet of one hundred and ſixty ſail of ſhips. Alexander, in the greateſt conſternation at this unexpected attack, ſent remonſtrances to Haco, who having landed his troops, and ſubdued Arran and Bute, and taken the town of Air, would hear no offers of peace. Alexander, in the mean time, having raiſed a ſmall army, met the Norwegians at a place called Larges. In the cauſe of liberty, how ſtrong and brave are a few! for in the battle which enſued, the lines of the invaders were broken, and a moſt horrible carnage enſued: 20,000 of the enemy are reported to have been ſlain on the ſpot; ſuch of them as eſcaped to their ſhips, were wrecked the day following; and Haco, who in a little veſſel, had got to the Orkneys, died there of grief, at his diſappointed ambition. Magnus, Haco's ſon, finding that in conſequence of this defeat, many of the iſles had ſurrendered to Alexander, ſent over offers of treaty. And it was ſhortly after agreed, that all the Ebrides, and the Iſle of Man, ſhould be, in future, the ſole right of the Kings of Scotland; and that their reſpective inhabitants ſhould enjoy their privileges the ſame as when ſubject to Norway, any of whom were, if they thought fit, at liberty to depart with

their effects, unmoleſted. Alexander, in conſideration of theſe iſlands, agreed to pay Magnus annually one hundred ſilver marks; and according to ſome, gave him directly one thouſand. Perfectly to conciliate the parties, a marriage was ſome time after concluded on between Margaret, Alexander's daughter, and Eric ſon and heir to Magnus, and they were accordingly married by proxy at Roxburgh, on the 15th of July 1281. Thus happily for Scotland terminated an invaſion, which at firſt wore ſo unpromiſing an aſpect.

Every thing being ſecure in the realm, Alexander with his queen paid a viſit to his father Henry; and at his court, at Woodſtock, Margaret was delivered of a ſon. Alexander, during his ſtay with Henry, conſtantly received his five pounds per day, and conſidered it, not as his father's bounty, but as his own right. On his return to Scotland, he aſſiſted king Henry with 5000 men againſt his rebellious barons. He likewiſe, in 1270, out of affection to Lewis of France, augmented the Scotch guard about his perſon, from twenty men, which had continued a cuſtom from the year 883, to one hundred; and at this time, it was ſaid, that the Scots were faithful to a proverb: the name of this guard is not yet intirely aboliſhed in France. Two years after this died Alexander's friend and father Henry, to whoſe ſucceſſor, Edward, Alexander proved a good ally. In 1278, he attended at Weſtminſter, as the firſt peer of England, and was thanked by Edward for his great ſervices. And in ſwearing fealty to him for the lands which he held in England, Alexander having before taken notice of an ambiguous expreſſion, which the biſhop of Norwich had ſuggeſted to Edward, declared aloud, "None but God hath right to the homage of my kingdom."

Alexander's queen and children being all dead, he was adviſed, in order to prevent difficulties in the ſucceſſion, to marry again, and therefore eſpouſed Jolet,

Jolet, the daughter of the earl of Dreux; but before she brought any issue, as he was hunting in the county of Fife, his horse took fright, rushed down a precipice, called the Black Rock, and killed him on the spot. This melancholy fate befel him on the 19th of March 1285, in the 45th year of his age, and the 37th of his reign.

This excellent prince left many proofs of his great wisdom, valour, and justice. He limited the equipages of his nobility, and gained Scotland the first name of a trading country. And his subjects, who, it is said, were now more civilized than either the English or French, from personal affection, as well as from the bad consequences which they saw would arise by this chasm in the succession, lamented his untimely death. His death is indeed a fatal æra in Scotch annals. For Edward of England, seems even in the life-time of Alexander, to have formed designs prejudicial to the liberties of Scotland. The cunning, which he was master of, prevented him, however, from giving much cause of suspicion. During the disputes, which now succeeded, he imagined, that her independency might the more easily fall a prey, and the hot-headed chiefs, who, in a few years, were eagerly scrambling for the crown, gave Edward, perhaps, a better opportunity to carry his point than he, in his most sanguine expectations, had surmised.

Some Scotch historians have considered the disputes, concerning the succession, as beginning immediately on Alexander's death; but it seems to be pretty certain that *Margaret*, the young princess of Norway, who was Alexander's grand-daughter, was universally deemed his successor, tho' a mere infant. Six agents were chosen to act during her minority, all Scotchmen, which exceedingly mortified Edward; who expected, as he was grand-uncle to the queen, to have been made her guardian. How-

Margaret. A. D. 1285.

ever,

ever, as he found the Scots extremely jealous of their independency, and as he was bent on having power over them; he ſecretly concluded with Eric, the father of Margaret, a treaty of marriage, between her and his ſon, the prince of Wales, tho' they were both ſo very young.

This was the firſt ſcheme for uniting the two kingdoms, probably it might have been happy, had it taken place; for the ſtates of Scotland, after hearing of the treaty of marriage, agreed to it (under articles, however, which were highly to the honor of that kingdom) and the young queen was ſent for over. The regents, and the prin-
1290. cipal nobility, went to the Orkneys, in order to receive and conduct her to the throne.

But Margaret, who was of a very delicate conſtitution, and then but ſeven years old, unable to bear the fatigue of a very tempeſtuous voyage, expired in her paſſage. This circumſtance, which filled the Scots with infinite conſternation and grief, was highly agreeable to Edward. That monarch, who in the intended marriage, ſeemed to have had the probability of her early death in view, now that it really happened, took his meaſures accordingly. His conduct, as will appear in the ſequel, gave birth to ſuch fierce wars between the two kingdoms, as had nearly been the deſtruction of both.

The Interregnum.

A. D. 1291. Edward no ſooner received advice of the young queen's death, and that in conſequence of it there were many competitors for the vacant throne, than he prepared for a journey into Scotland, in order to prove, as he ſaid, that that kingdom was a fief of his own. But before he could ſet out, the debates in the Scotch parliament concerning the right to ſucceſſion, from the importance of the ſubject and the intricacy of titles, ran ſo high, that archbiſhop Fraſer, in order to prevent the ſword as

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usual in such cases from being finally appeal'd to, made a motion to the nobility, that the king of England should be chosen their arbitrator. This motion being relished by the claimants, and pretty generally approved by others, Fraser was accordingly sent, with other deputies, to invite him. Edward, on their arrival, tho' overjoyed at a request which gave so good an handle to his design, dissembled however his satisfaction: He coldly gave his consent, and desired to be met at Norham, by the Scotch nobility, in May. On the tenth of that month he convened them in the parish church, and then by the mouth of his justiciary Roger de Brabançon, declared, that as he did not doubt but that they had desired him for their arbiter under a sense of his being the *lord of their kingdom*, he therefore required them, by way of form, to acknowledge him as such, before he proceeded to the cognizance of their affairs. The Scots, astonished at this extraordinary insinuation and demand, replied, that they had never thought of such a concession; and Edward, after expressing a feigned surprize at their demur, and vowing that at all hazards he would maintain his right, granted them three weeks consideration. During this interval, Edward was tampering with the candidates; and in order to heighten his own importance, he encouraged more to offer themselves; so that before the three weeks were expired they amounted to the following twelve. Patric earl of March, Florence earl of Holland, William de Vesey, Nicholas de Soules, Patric Golightly, William de Ross, Roger de Mandeville, Robert de Pinkney, John Hastings, John Cumin, John de Baliol, and Robert de Bruce. All these, who were the most powerful families in Scotland, being now as it were dependent on his will, would not attempt, he rightly imagined, to thwart his design. Accordingly when the states met him in June, he ordered his chancellor to read over what he called

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undeniable proofs of his right to the ſovereignty of Scotland. Theſe were in fact mere fables, and monkiſh forgeries; however, as ſoon as the chancellor had ended, he, without waiting for the Scots reply, addreſſed himſelf to the competitors, and firſt aſked Robert de Bruce, whether he would have juſtice done him from the king of England, as liege lord of Scotland? Bruce anſwering in the affirmative, the reſt on being queſtioned in the ſame manner, followed his example; after which Edward himſelf declared, that notwithſtanding his office of arbitrator, he reſerved the liberty of making his own claim, and to proſecute it when and how he pleaſed.

Tho' there is no queſtion but that theſe acknowledgments were very diſagreeable to the bulk of the Scots; yet, either intimidated by his threats, or cajoled by his promiſes, all who were preſent ſwore implicit fealty to him; inſiſting however, that the diſpute relative to the ſucceſſion, ſhould be terminated in their own kingdom; to which Edward agreed, tho' at the ſame time he declared, that they muſt not conſider it as a precedent. Berwick was then appointed the place of deciſion; and on the 2d day of Auguſt the competitors were to urge their claims. In the mean time, as Edward ſaid, that as in quality of umpire he ought to have the power of executing his ſentence, he deſired therefore that the kingdom might be made over to him, that he might be able to give it to him, whoſe right it might in future appear to be.

In whatever light the barons ſaw this demand, it is certain that they aſſented to it; for Gilbert de Umfraville, earl of Angus, was the only man who refuſed to give up the forts in his poſſeſſion, till he was over-ruled by the impatient ambition of the competitors. Theſe on the day appointed made their appearance, but the claims of Ten being found defective, the conteſt lay wholly betwixt Bruce and Baliol. Bruce was the ſon of Iſabel, ſecond daughter to David

earl

arl of Huntington, who was third ſon of king David he 1ſt; and Baliol was the grandſon of Margaret he eldeſt daughter. The former added in ſupport of his claims, that Alexander the 3d had declared, hat he ſhould ſucceed him, which he offered to prove from ſeveral who had heard the promiſe. King Edward having attended to the arguments on both ides; and being unwilling, as he ſaid, to proceed raſhly in an affair of ſuch moment, diſmiſſed the competitors till the 2d of June following; when, after having taken the beſt advice, and maturely conſidered the ſubject, on that day he told them the ſucceſſion ſhould be finally ſettled. Againſt this day forty council were retained by Bruce, the ſame number by Baliol, and twenty-four by king Edward, to ſettle his judgment.

This long receſs, notwithſtanding the ſerious pretences of Edward, is uſually attributed to his deſire of being able, in the intermediate ſpace of time, thoroughly to ſound each claimant, and accordingly to chuſe him, who being found the moſt humble and ſlaviſh, would beſt ſuit his ungenerous intentions. His mother dying about this time, he choſe to attend her funeral; but leaving agents to ſift Baliol and Bruce, he returned thro' Suffolk and Norfolk by the time appointed. Eric, king of Norway, had now, it is thought by the inſtigation of Edward, put in a claim, in right of his daughter the late queen; this cauſed a prolongation till the 19th of November. Every thing was now ſettled previous to the concluſion of this important cauſe. The ſtates had agreed, that the laws and cuſtoms of England ſhould be ſtrictly attended to. *John Haſtings*, one of the diſappointed competitors for the crown, attempted to prove, that Scotland was a diviſible fief, and, as ſuch, claimed a third of it; but the kingdom was declared indiviſible.

The day being arrived, Baliol, as being the grandſon of an eldeſt daughter, was, by the laws of both nations,

nations, determined to have a juſter right than Bruce, who was the ſon of a ſecond daughter; and all the other claimants being nonſuited, Edward reſerving the proſecution of his own right to be tried by him or his ſucceſſors whenever they thought fit, declared Baliol king of Scotland; and immediately addreſſing himſelf to him, ſaid, "You will now do "well to behave yourſelf in ſuch a manner as not "to incur my diſpleaſure, or oblige me to interfere "between you and your people." The next day the kingdom being given to him, he ſwore the following oath of fealty: "I, John de Baliol, do, by "theſe preſents, promiſe truly and faithfully to "ſerve our lord Edward, by the grace of God king "of England, and ſuperior lord of the kingdom "of Scotland, with life and limb, and true honor, "againſt all men, for the kingdom of Scotland; "ſo help me God, and his holy apoſtles." On the 30th he was crowned at Scone, and received the homage of all his nobility, except Bruce, who had abſented himſelf. This being performed, Edward ordered the new king to follow him to Newcaſtle-on-Tyne, there to do him further homage; which the abject Baliol thus performed, "My lord Edward, king of England, ſuperior "lord of the kingdom of Scotland, I being your "liegeman for the whole kingdom of Scotland, "with its appurtenances, which kingdom I claim "and hold, and of right ought to hold, for me "and my heirs kings of Scotland, hereditarily of "you and your heirs kings of England, and ſhall "bear faith to you and your heirs kings of Eng-"land, of life and limb, and terrene honor, againſt "all men that may live and die." This homage being atteſted by ſixteen biſhops, and the principal nobility of both kingdoms, Edward returned home exulting, and Baliol ſneaked back to his territories.

John.
A. D. 1292. Baliol had been returned from performing his homage ſcarcely a week, before

before the king of England had an opportunity to aſſert his ſupremacy. For one Maſon, a Gaſcon merchant, appealing to Edward for ſatisfaction for a debt contracted by Alexander 3d, which Baliol had refuſed to pay, (and perhaps with reaſon) the new king had a ſummons ſent him to appear in perſon at Weſtminſter. This was followed by another ſummons on the part of Macduff, earl of Fife; whoſe eſtate having been ſequeſter'd by the former regency, Baliol refuſed to reſign. John appearing at Weſtminſter, in conſequence of Edward's ſummons, and having taken his ſeat in parliament as firſt peer of England, expoſtulated with Edward concerning the rectitude of his proceedings, in citing him to appear in England to anſwer to matters which only concerned Scotland; and Baliol appealed to his promiſes. Edward inſiſted on his right to judge of whatever affairs concerned Scotland; adding, with a guſt of paſſion, that their king ſhould appear before him as often as he ſaw fit. His promiſes, he declared, were made to ſerve Scotland; but ſince their king had proved thus ungrateful, he would make him renounce every one of them, of what kind ſoever; and this abolition, Baliol, who was terrified at his menaces, was obliged to perform. The plaintiffs then preferred their cauſes; and Baliol, as defendant, would have anſwered by proxy; but this indulgence was denied him; and the vaſſal king was obliged to appear at the bar as a private perſon. Baliol, abject as he was, could not however brook an affront like this. He declared that he muſt conſult his ſubjects, before he would anſwer to the earl of Fife's charge. This behavior was judged a contempt of the court; and Edward declaring that he would ſeize Berwick, Roxburgh, and Jedburgh, till Baliol ſhould come to a ſenſe of his duty; that weak king, who had only made a flaſh of reſolution, immediately acknowledged Edward's ſovereignty, and

moſt

moſt humbly begged his leave to conſult the Scotiſh parliament. This requeſt, at Macduff's inſtance, was granted; and Baliol, after having promiſed to appear on a day appointed, was permitted to retire. Greatly chagrined at this mortifying treatment he returned to his people, who, tho' they deſpis'd his perſon, gave ear to a propoſal which he made, of reſigning his power to twelve of them, who ſhould conſult together on means for ſhaking off their ſlaviſh dependance. They conſidered Edward's rupture with France as a very favorable juncture. The twelve regents therefore renewed the ancient league offenſive and defenſive with that kingdom, and concluded a treaty of alliance between Baliol's ſon, Edward, and king Philip's niece. Theſe negociations were not, however, carried on ſo privately, but Edward gained intelligence of them; which, at ſo critical a time, gave him much diſpleaſure.

To be certain as to the truth of Baliol's tranſactions, or rather thoſe of his regents, he ordered him to appear; but he was anſwered by the Scots, that the pope having abſolved their king from his allegiance and fealty, he was no longer to expect his homage. This meſſage was delivered to him by the bold abbot of Aberbrothwick. On which Edward exclaimed, "How fooliſhly does this ſtupid ſon of mine behave! well, if he will not come to us, we will go to him"; and ſending his nephew againſt the French, he prepared to be as good as his word. Before he proceeded to hoſ-

1296. tilities, he made an offer of the crown to Robert Bruce, the ſon of Baliol's rival, and the father of his heroic ſucceſſor. This offer, Bruce, who was much in favour with Edward, thankfully accepted; and in conſequence of it, gained over a ſtrong party to the intereſt of Edward, who having thus gotten what he aimed at in the propoſal, began his march. Berwick, a very ſtrong fortreſs, was

his

is firſt and greateſt impediment. That garriſon, apprized of Edward's intentions, had deſtroyed 18 of his ſhips, which ſo enraged him, that, as he had little if any generoſity in his temper, he vowed bitter revenge. He advanced before the town with an army of 40,000 men; but was received ſo warmly, that, to execute his purpoſe, and ſave the time and expence of a regular ſiege, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered ſome of Bruce's men to report that he would ſoon retire; and accordingly, in a few days, having made a ſhew of raiſing the ſiege, a ſtrong party of his troops, habited like Scotchmen, approached their walls. The garriſon had received advice that Baliol was marching to their aſſiſtance; and imagining this body of troops to be a detachment from that army, they opened their gates to receive them. The credulous Scots found their miſtake too late; for the Engliſh being in poſſeſſion of their gates, now poured in upon them, and maſſacred without reſpect to perſon, age, or ſex, 7000; ſome ſay, double that number was ſlaughtered; Edward then drew a deep ditch round the town, which, from that time, became part of England.

Propoſing next to beſiege Dunbar, he marched forward for that purpoſe; but Baliol, at the head of a large army, impeded his deſign. Edward beheld his approach with pleaſure. He imagined, that to defeat this army, would be, in effect, to conquer all Scotland, which was the great object of his ominous ambition. With the moſt paſſionate deſire, therefore, he haſtened to conqueſt, and he ſucceeded; for in the battle the Scots were routed, with the loſs of 10,000 men. On this defeat, Dunbar, Jedburgh, and Roxburg, immediately ſurrendered; as did alſo Edinburgh, on Edward's approach with a reinforcement of 40,000 men from Wales and Ireland. Edward was now almoſt totally maſter of Scotland, which ſo terrified Baliol, that he ſent agents with offers of any, the moſt abject, ſubmiſſion to obtain

Edward's

Edward's forgiveneſs. Abjection herſelf would have ſtarted at the terms impoſed by Edward, to which Baliol, however, agreed. Accordingly, in the preſence of many nobility and clergy of both kingdoms, he was uſhered into a church-yard at Montroſe, mounted upon the moſt ſcurvy horſe that could be procured, and by way of ſpear, he was equipped with a white wand. Thus accoutred, he appeared before king Edward, who received him with ineffable contempt. In the moſt doleful ſtrain the pageant monarch then ſtript himſelf of his crown and kingdom, abjured the league with France, and confeſſing the utmoſt ſorrow that he had ever offended his liege lord, moſt humbly implored his clemency. After this ceremony had been [illegible] in ſeveral other places, the inſenſible Baliol was ſent under a guard to England, and there confined. The nobility, (except William Douglaſs, who would not acknowledge Edward, and on that account died in jail,) now renewing their fealty, Bruce put Edward in mind of his promiſe; but the king ſternly replying, "Have we nothing to do but to win kingdoms for thee?" Bruce, who knew the king's temper too well to contend, retired to his eſtate. Edward had now completed his deſign; and having inſtituted Warren, earl of Surrey and Suſſex, his lieutenant, in the kingdom; Hugh de Creſſingham his treaſurer; and William Ormeſby his juſticiary, returned joyfully to England; taking along with him, the crown and regalia, and a marble chair, in which the kings were always crowned at Scone; and which the vulgar Scots believed to have been the pillow of Jacob, when he ſlept at Padan-Aram, as well as the palladium of their liberty. His cunning thus took advantage of their credulity for the taking of this ſtone, which is ſtill in Weſtminſter-abby, greatly reſigned them to what they thought their fate; and he took care, beſides, to deſtroy, with the moſt barbarous policy, every va-

luable

J. Wale delin.

T. Simpson sculp.

able record in the kingdom, in which the hiſtory
d antiquities of Scotland had, till that period,
en carefully preſerved.

Edward's regents now acted with
ch prudence in behalf of their maſter, *The 2d Inter-*
at liberty ſeemed juſt about taking *regnum.*
r laſt farewel of a people, who
rmerly had been ſo dear a votary to her; when
ir William Wallace, a patriotic hero, equal to any
at antiquity can produce, ſtood forth, and revived
y his bold example, the drooping ſpirits of his
ountrymen. His reſolution of loſing the laſt drop
f his blood in defence of Scotland's independency,
onnected with ſome exploits, which he, who was a
an of gigantic ſtature and amazing ſtrength, had al-
noſt ſingly performed, was not long made public be-
ore he was joined by Malcolm, earl of Lenox, lord
William Douglaſs, governor of Berwick, ſir John
Graham, ſir Neil Campbel, ſir Chriſtopher Seton,
ir John Ramſay, ſir Fergus Barclay, Andrew
Murray, Adam Gordon, Robert Keith, Robert
Boyd, William Oliphant, Hugh Hay, Simon and
Alexander Fraſer, Rainold, Hugh and William
Crawford, Adam Wallace, John Johnſtone, Roger
Kilpatric, Robert Lauder, Alexander Auchinleck,
Richard Lundie, William Ker, Robert Ruther-
ford, Edward Little, Arthur Biſſet, James and Ro-
bert Lindſay, Thomas Haliday, John Tinto, John
Cleland, Jordan Barde, Hugh Dundaſs, Thomas
Gray, Stephen Ireland, John Scot, John Blair,
James Balfour, Adam Currie, William Ballandine,
William Robertſon, Scrimzor, Ruthven, Guthrie,
and others, with their friends and dependants.
This brave compact, under the command of Wal-
lace, ſoon began to diſtinguiſh itſelf. The king's
regents were routed; Ormeſby, who had ruled with
the greateſt ſeverity, narrowly eſcaped with his life.
The caſtles of Dundee, Forfar, Brechin, and
Montroſe, were recovered, and Wallace, at the
head

head of his forces, entered Aberdeen juſt as t
Engliſh had ſet it on fire. The fame of his e
ploits had now reached Edward in France, whe
not expecting a thing of this nature, he had ca
ried his whole force. He ordered his lieutena
Warren, who being infirm, deputed the youn
lord Piercy, to march againſt theſe ſworn foes
ſlavery. Wallace's army was now en
1297. camped at Sterling, conſiderably aug
mented, and increaſing daily. To attac
it, the Engliſh were obliged to croſs the Forth, b
a wooden bridge, which, when half the army ha
paſſed, gave way, ſome ſay as Wallace had con
trived, but rather being naturally unable to ſuſtai
ſo great a weight. Wallace fell upon ſuch as ha
paſſed the bridge, and thoſe who eſcaped the ſword
were drowned in the river, while the party on th
other ſide, were almoſt as totally deſtroyed by th
earl of Lenox. This memorable defeat was on th
15th of September; after which, the Scots forces
by plundering the Engliſh, diſſipated their fears o
a famine, that, by a neglect of agriculture, ſeeme
to be haſtily approaching. During theſe excurſion
for food, ſome Engliſh writers have repreſente
Wallace as guilty of the greateſt inhumanity and
exceſs; but their efforts have yet been too impoten
to tarniſh the character of a man who poſſeſſed al
the virtues of heroiſm. The ſtates of Scotland, fo
his great ſervices, had now choſen him their protec
tor; while Edward, returned from France, who wa
fleeced by that nation, in his hurry to ſubdue th
Scots. Edward had ſtill but too powerful a party
in Scotland; for Bruce conſidered Wallace as an am
bitious upſtart; and as his glorious actions reproached
his own ſupineneſs, without being the hearty friend
of Edward, he became the protector's mortal enemy.

This nobleman had hitherto remained neuter,
but being obliged on Edward's arrival in England
to declare either for him or his country, he made

bice of the former. Bruce, probably, was inſti-
ted to ſide with Edward by ambition. He might
agine that Edward would, for his reiterated ſer-
ces, perform his promiſe, by placing him at laſt
the throne of Scotland. With this view, he
ined over the inhabitants of Galloway; ſo that
nen the king, with a great army, approached the
rders of Scotland, he received a conſiderable re-
forcement from this nobleman. Wallace, mean
ne, with about 30,000 men was encamped near
lkirk, in an excellent diſpoſition. Some diſaf-
cted troops in his army, now began to diſpute
out the poſt of honour; Edward took notice of
is, and began his attack: the charge was re-echo'd
the Scots, with ſuch an uncommon noiſe, that
e king's horſe, taking fright, threw him and broke
o of his ribs. Edward, regardleſs of his pain,
harged in perſon with the utmoſt fury; and Wallace,
ho had animated his troops only with theſe words,
Behold Edward, and fly if you can," ſuſtained
e ſhock without diſorder. He was then ready for
general charge in his turn, when Cumin, who
ad been refuſed the poſt of honour, filed off with
is diviſion without ſtriking a ſtroke; leaving Stuart
nd his brave troops intirely expoſed, who were cut
n pieces. Bruce and his party now wheeling round
hill with an intention to ſurround the few troops
hich remained, Wallace, to avoid deſtruction, had
uſt time to retreat beyond the river Carron. In
his battle, which was fought on the 22d of July
298, there fell upwards of 10,000 Scots, and
carcely 100 Engliſh; and it is to be imagined that
his great ſlaughter, and perhaps the defeat, was as
nuch owing to the treachery of Cumin, whoſe de-
ertion, put Wallace's whole army into diſorder;
s to the ſuperior number and ſkill of Edward's
orces. Bruce, who was ordered to purſue, finding
n his coming to the river Carron, that Wallace
ad paſſed it, agreed to a parly. Bruce taxed the

protector

protector with temerity and ambition, in taki arms againſt ſuch a king as Edward was, to becor himſelf the monarch of Scotland. Wallace warm diſclaimed any thoughts as to the crown, advanci with a guſt of patriotic indignation, "To you t miſeries of your country are owing; *You* left overwhelmed with wars, and *I* undertook the ca which you betrayed; a cauſe which I will eſpo as long as I breathe." It is ſaid, that theſe wor had ſo great an effect on Bruce, that, ſtricken wi remorſe, he retired to his eſtate, and died the ſoon after.

Edward, in the midſt of his victories, was oblig to return to England for proviſion, and, in march back, Wallace, (who to obviate all ſuſpici of having any views on the Scottiſh throne hi ſelf, had reſigned his protectorſhip,) kept contin ally galling his rear. Cumin was now protect whom Wallace juſtly hating for his former tre chery, this excellent man retired to the wood where, with a few friends, he harraſſed the Engli detachments and convoys, till the year 1303; no withſtanding, that Cumin had, by the interpo tion of the pope and the king of France, ob tained a truce; which expiring in July, a the Scots refuſing to ſubmit to Edward, he ſent large army among them, with orders, ſay Scotc writers, to lay waſte the country. This arm which had ſeparated itſelf into three diviſions, car leſly ravaging wherever they came, proceeded ſo i cautiouſly, that one party, ſurpriſed at Roſlin, b 10,000 Scots, headed by Cumin and Fraſer, w defeated. The ſecond diviſion, hearing of th diſaſter, coming up ſoon after, was alſo defeate and now the third appearing, the Scots, almo fainting with fatigue, not only ſtood the ſhock it, but after an obſtinate ſtruggle, gained the vi tory. Scotch writers are in raptures on this occ ſion, repreſenting each diviſion of the Engliſh ſuperi

uperior in number to all the Scots army; but by ome Engliſh hiſtorians, this circumſtance is denied, nd the triple conqueſt placed in a diſadvantageous ight. Edward, ſays Buchanan, on this ever me-norable defeat, levied a greater army than ever. With this, entering Scotland, he ſpread deſolation ar and wide; ſo that the Scots, having been denied ſſiſtance from their faithleſs ally the French, were orced to ſue for peace, which Edward, leſt he ſhould rive the Scots to deſperation, granted them; and a reaty was concluded at Stratford, on the 9th of ebruary 1304. This was the only inſtance of dward's clemency to the Scots. As they had re-reſented their revolt to be owing to the rigour of is regents, he had probably a mind to try what ef-ects gentle meaſures might produce; for upon their ubmiſſion, he only impoſed ſmall fines on the no-ility; and on the 15th of October, in the follow-ng year, he granted a pardon, from which only Vallace, that rebel to ſlavery, had the diſtinguiſhed onour of being excluded. The gallant leader, be-ng thus exalted, was ſoon after betrayed at Glaſ-ow, by his pretended friend, Monteith. Edward ried him as a rebel, but the hero, who never had cknowledged him for his ſovereign, pleaded with reat juſtice and force of argument, not guilty to he indictment. His plea, however, was over-uled, and Edward, to his everlaſting diſgrace, ſuf-ered this man, "in whoſe valiant breaſt, (to uſe bold expreſſion of Camden) God ſeemed to have itched his tent," to die, amidſt aggravated barbari-ies, like a traitor.

CHURCH.

The church of Scotland experi-nced, in this century, a large in-reaſe of religious orders. For, in 1219, the bi-hop of St. Andrews introduced the Dominicans, ranciſcans, and Jacobines; and, in 1256, the armelites came over, and had a houſe allotted for hem at Perth.

In 1280, the pope having convened a council at Lyons, all the biſhops of Scotland (except Dunkeld and Murray) were preſent at it. It was there ordered, that no fees were to be paid to even biſhops or archdeacons, unleſs they performed their duty in perſon, if their ſtate of life permitted them; a ſtrict law was made againſt pluralities; and the Mendicant friars were reduced to four orders, the Minorites, the Predicants, Carmelites, and Hermits of St. Auguſtine.

The famous Duns Scotus flouriſhed in this century; and likewiſe Michael Scot, and Thomas Lermonth, commonly called Thomas the Rymer, two reputed prophets, who are ſaid, among other ſurpriſing things, to have foretold the union with England.

The Scots, during the interregnum, were very impatient under the Engliſh yoke. This was ſoon perceived by Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick. His father, whom Wallace had ſtung with remorſe, it is generally thought, had, in his retirement, enjoined this ſon of his to ſtrive for the Scottiſh crown, whenever he ſaw an opportunity. Poſſeſſing a vaſt genius and a laudable ambition, he needed little incitement to glory. He had in confidence communicated his deſign of being king of Scotland to Cumin, who being a powerful nobleman, it was neceſſary that he ſhould be in his intereſt. Cumin, who, ſince the abdication of Baliol, appears to have had ſimilar views, betrayed his confidence. Bruce meeting him afterwards in a monaſtery at Dumfries, reproached him for his baſeneſs; and high words from hence ariſing, Bruce in his paſſion, ſtabbed him, on the 10th of February 1306. After this deed, which ſome writers have aggravated, and which no one can perfectly juſtify, the voice of the people called him to the throne, as his birthright. He was accordingly crowned at Scone, in the preſence of the biſhops of St. Andrew and Glaſgow, and many noblemen of diſtinction, on the 25th of March following.

Ed-

Edward received this news with aſtoniſhment: he prepared immedi- 1306.
ately with all haſte to cruſh the new king, before he ſhould have collected any conſiderable ſtrength. Accordingly, with a vaſt force, he entered Scotland; and Robert, with a few undiſciplined troops, waited to receive him at Perth. Here enſued a battle, in which, tho' Bruce performed prodigies of valour, it cannot be ſurpriſing that he was defeated. Edward then ravaged Scotland once more, and gave free ſcope to the violence of his temper. He murthered every male relation and friend of Bruce's that he could lay hands on; among which were three of his brothers. He put the king's ſiſter in a wooden cage, where he kept her as a ſpectacle; in ſhort, every day gave freſh inſtances that he mortally hated the whole race.

In the mean time, king Robert having eluded Edward's ſearch, by flying to the Orkneys, was concluded to be dead; and the king of England leaving the earl of Pembroke in his ſtead, returned to quiet his domeſtic affairs. Upon his departure, Bruce, having given his friends intimation of his retreat, very ſoon collected 1000 men, and in the depth of winter, attacked and routed the Engliſh forces. His troops every day increaſing, Edward now collected all the force in his power, and determined, as he declared, to deſtroy Scotland from ſea to ſea. But this horrid deſign was fruſtrated; for arriving at Carliſle, he was ſeized by a flux, which, not attending to, it carried him off, at Burgh on the Sands, on the 7th of July 1307, in the 68th year of his age; having, as it is reported, ordered his ſon to continue the march, and as a terror to the Scots, to carry his corpſe before them.

But the conqueſt of Scotland was not ſo much at the heart of Edward the 2d. as was his great favourite Gaveſton, who having been baniſhed by

his father, he now haſtened home to recal and embrace. He left, however, ſome forces behind him, under the command of John earl of Richmond, which Bruce defeated. He then reduced many ſmall forts belonging to the Engliſh, with whom, after which, Bruce, who was as wiſe as valiant, concluded a treaty; in order, mean time, to gather ſufficient force to reduce the ſtrong caſtles of Edinburgh, Perth, Sterling, and Berwick, which ſince Edward's firſt conqueſt of Scotland, had been in their poſſeſſion. In 1312, having, as he imagined, effected his purpoſe, he beſieged Berwick; but a famine obliged him to raiſe the ſiege, and make excurſions into England for proviſion. On his return, he ſurpriſed and took the caſtles of Roxburgh and Perth, and laying cloſe ſiege to Edinburgh, he carried it with much difficulty. Theſe exploits, added to the reduction of the Iſle of Man, which he compaſſed, to ſecure a communication with Ireland, gained him great reputation.

King Edward having news of theſe conqueſts, and recollecting his father's laſt words, "reduce the Scots" aſſembled an army (which according to the beſt accounts conſiſted of 100,000 men,) and marched into Scotland. Robert, with 30,000 choice troops, lay encamped at Bannocburn, a place, which by nature, hindered his troops from being ſurrounded or attacked in flank. On the 25th of June 1314, Edward's army began the attack; but, under an aſſurance of victory, in ſo irregular a manner, that Robert's veterans, whom he had learned to fight with broad ſword and target, diſordered, cut them in pieces, and in ſhort, obtained as complete a victory, as hiſtory can produce. Robert with one ſtroke killed ſir Richard Bohun, who was reckoned the ſtrongeſt knight in England, and had very nigh taken king Edward, who eſcaped but by the goodneſs of his horſe. In conſequence of this ſignal victory, the Scots gained a prodigious booty. There

were

were found in the Engliſh camp waggon loads of chains and fetters, which Edward had prepared for the Scots. The priſoners, doubtleſs, expected that theſe would now be their portion; on the contrary, he behaved with the greateſt lenity; and exchanged the nobility amongſt them for his wife and ſiſter, whom Edward the firſt had carried to London. Sterling, Dunbar, and Berwick now ſurrendered to him, and Bruce became king of Scotland in reality.

The king had one brother, who had eſcaped the rage of Edward the firſt. His name was Edward, and his genius alſo aſpired to a kingdom. Underſtanding that the Iriſh being ſorely oppreſſed by their Engliſh governors, were ripe for a revolt, he borrowed forces of his brother, and landing at Carrickfergus with about 7,000 men, deſtroyed Dundalk, and drove the Engliſh out of Ulſter. Moſt of the Iriſh, who always conſidered themſelves as relative Scots, now declaring in his favour, he was crowned king; while Robert kept dallying Edward of England till 1317, with offers of peace. Edward Bruce was then hard preſſed by the Engliſh, and Robert went over to his aſſiſtance; having been of great ſervice to his brother, (who, the year after, however, was ſurpriſed and ſlain) he retired to his own dominions, on receiving intimation that Edward had thoughts of invading them. The Engliſh monarch would have been glad to have exchanged Ireland for Scotland, of which, in the king's abſence, he had endeavoured to become maſter. He had beſieged Berwick; which Robert immediately, on his arrival, marched to relieve, and driving the Engliſh before him, ravaged York. This conduct ſo enraged the archbiſhop of that city, that he raiſed an army of 10,000 men. He commanded it himſelf; but the mad-headed prelate was defeated at Mitton, on the 21ſt of September 1319. This battle, from the number of

prieſts and monks, who fought in their ſurplices, an
were ſlain or drowned, was called the *white ba*

After this defeat, Robert concluded a truce wi
England, and till 1322, cultivated the arts of peace
When Edward having in the mean time raiſed
large army, broke the truce, and in July, invade
the kingdom. It is certain, that he penetrated
far as Edinburgh, where his vaſt army was aga
defeated, and himſelf purſued to York. Robert,
his return, burnt the town of Rippon, and fine
Beverly in a conſiderable ſum. Edward now ga
over all thoughts of ſubduing the Scots, and ma
peace with Robert on the following terms, "Th
all the forts ſhould remain in *ſtatu quo*; that neith
party ſhould aſſiſt the enemies of the other, exce
on a war with France." The affairs of commer
and intercourſe were likewiſe regulated; and Sco
land, after her fatigues, enjoyed perfect reſt till th
death of the Engliſh king in 1326. War then be
gan to rage afreſh, owing to Bruce's making an e
fort to free his countrymen from their homage t
England.

In 1328, Edward the 3d. by the advice of hi
queen, and her great favourite Mortimer, in con
ſideration of 30,000 marks, renounced all fealt
and homage from the Scots for himſelf and ſucceſſor
The Scots conſidered this as the principal article in
truce of four years, which in other reſpects, (particu
larly a treaty of marriage between Edward's daughte
and Robert's ſon) was alſo much in their favour
This great point being gained, Robert ſat dow
contented; but in the year following, a leproſy
which he was afflicted with, increaſed ſo faſt, as t
put an end to his life and glorious reign, on th
11th of June 1329, in the 54th year of the former
and 24th of the latter.

Before his death, he had ordered, according t
the cuſtom of the times, that his heart ſhou
be carried to the Holy Land, which ſir James
Douglaſs,

Douglaſs, who had the commiſſion, faithfully performed. He had previouſly ſettled the ſucceſſion on his ſon David, and in default of heirs male, on his grandſon the great ſteward of Scotland. On his death-bed, he deſired that the Ebrides, or Weſtern Iſles, might never be governed by one man, leſt it ſhould excite him to rebellion; and that in future wars with England, his countrymen would prefer ſkirmiſhes and ſudden attacks to pitched battles.

This excellent prince, who was the firſt that introduced repreſentatives of boroughs in parliament, had an equal genius for the field or cabinet. To ſum up his character in few words, he was one of the greateſt princes that ever ſwayed the Scottiſh ſcepter, whether conſidered as a warrior, a monarch, or a man. His character is blackened by ſome Engliſh writers, who repreſent him, as having at firſt fought againſt his country; this is blaming the ſon for the faults of his father; for it was the latter only who was Wallace's enemy; but this circumſtance, of which many hiſtorians, by blending the actions of both Bruces, appear ignorant, will ſerve to reconcile the difference.

He was twice married: by the earl of Mar's ſiſter he had a daughter, who eſpouſed Walter, high ſteward of the kingdom; the other, Elizabeth, daughter of Henry de Burgh, brought him a ſon, who, now in the 9th year of his age, under the guardianſhip of Randolph, earl of Murray, ſucceeded him.

DAVID II.

The Scots, under the government of Randolph, enjoyed great felicity. He proved rigidly juſt, for in 1332, he executed a malefactor, though the pope had pardoned him; and as the good regent died ſoon after this circumſtance, ſome ſuſpect that for his irreverence to the pontiff, he was poiſoned by an enthuſiaſtic monk. Duncan, earl of Mar, was appointed his ſucceſſor; and now an unforeſeen revolution very ſoon took place. 1329.

The mock monarch Baliol, having obtained his liberty, thro' the interceſſion of the Pope, died at his eſtate in France, in 1314. He left behind him two ſons, Edward and Henry. The former, having been inſtigated, by one Twenge (a wretch whom the late regent had outlawed) to aſſert his claim to the Scottiſh throne, he liſtened to his advice; and, diſcloſing his ſentiments to Edward king of England, requeſted his aſſiſtance, and offered, in caſe he ſhould ſucceed in his attempt, to hold the crown of him as ſovereign, in the manner of his father. Edward, tho' he greatly regretted that he had been drawn in by Mortimer, to reſign this ſupremacy over Scotland, was, however, a prince of too much juſtice, or policy, to violate openly a truce, which, notwithſtanding, he heartily wiſhed were expired. Nevertheleſs, hiſtorians agree, that the virtue was not wholly proof againſt this alluring bait: ſome ſay, he went ſo far as to aſſiſt Baliol behind the curtain. Whatever truth there may be in this, it is certain, that Baliol carried on matters ſo privately, that he landed at Kinghorn, with about 4,000 Engliſh and Scotch volunteers, on the 1ſt of March 1332, without oppoſition. The ſtates being ſoon appriſed of his intentions, levied a conſiderable force, in order to ſtop his progreſs. By the imprudence of the earl of Mar, and the valour of Baliol's troops, this army was defeated at Dupplin, the regent and many of the principal nobility being ſlain.

Edward then took Perth, and proceeding to Scone, aſſumed the crown. In conſequence of which, he declared, that he would conſider every one as a traitor, that ſhould refuſe to ſwear fealty to him. On this declaration, he was joined by many men of power, and his party now grew very ſtrong. The few, who ſtill continued faithful to David, appointed ſir Alexander Murray his regent; but as that knight was ſhortly after taken priſoner

priſoner by Baliol, (who had routed what forces he commanded,) the royal party loſt ground every day. They, nevertheleſs, choſe lord Archibald Douglaſs regent, who thought fit to apply to king Edward in behalf of the young king. On the other hand, Baliol, who had now become, in a manner, maſter of Scotland, ſent to him his homage, which was as ſlaviſh as his father's.

The truce between England and Scotland was now expired, and Edward conſidered himſelf at liberty to perſue the bent of his inclination. The ſubmiſſion of Baliol was highly agreeable to him; but yet he would not ſeem to quarrel with the other party, without a pretext of juſtice. He told the regent, that he ſhould not concern himſelf with their eſtates, any farther than claiming the caſtle of Berwick for himſelf, let it be in the poſſeſſion either of David or Baliol's party. That caſtle his grandfather had ſolemnly annexed to his crown, and therefore that caſtle, he ſaid, tho' recovered by Bruce, thro' the ſupineneſs of his father, was his right. This caſtle, as Edward well knew, was ſtill maintained by the royaliſts, and Baliol having reſigned all his intereſt in it to him, he thus had a pretext for becoming his friend; and, as the regent refuſed to give up Berwick, of courſe he was David's enemy. Scotland, oppreſſed by foreign and inteſtine foes, was now in a deplorable ſituation. King Edward with a vaſt force, laid ſiege to Berwick. After he had battered the place for more than a month, with very little ſucceſs, he raiſed the ſiege in order to relieve his queen, whom the Scots, in their turn, had beſieged in Bamborough caſtle. The Scots retired at his approach, upon which he returned to Berwick, and attacked that fort with redoubled vigour. The regent determined, at all events, to relieve this garriſon; and Edward, having received news, that he was advancing with a large army, poſſeſſed himſelf of a very advantageous ſtation on

Halidon Hill. The regent, unmindful of the king's dying injunctions, was resolute to attack Edward, tho' thus advantageously posted. The rash boldness terminated in a total defeat of the Scots army; the regent fell, with most of the nobility, and 15,000 common men were either killed or made captive. On this memorable victory, which, as it is said, cost the English only a knight, an esquire, and fifteen soldiers; Berwick immediately surrendered.

On the loss of this battle, which was almost the overthrow of the Brucean interest, David and the young queen fled to France. Philip received them with a kingly hospitality, and ratified the following treaty; "1st, A perpetual alliance and confederacy between both nations; 2d, That the Scots and French should mutually succour each other against the English with men of war, to be waged and victualled at the expence of the party assisted; 3d, That neither nation should assist the English with money, victuals, or advice, without the consent of both kings, under the penalty of being declared guilty of high treason; 4th, That the French should make no peace or truce with the English, except the king of Scots may be comprised, named, and allowed therein; and at each change or succession of them, that their pragmatical sanctions be reciprocally confirmed."

Whilst this treaty was on the carpet, Edward Baliol had called a parliament, which met the beginning of February 1334, in the abby-church of Holyroodhouse. Here, in consideration of the good services of Edward, king of England, he granted that monarch 2000*l.* sterling per annum; and farther, to shew his gratitude, as he called it, followed Edward to Newcastle, where, on the 12th of June, after having given that king a sole and separate right to the towns, counties, and castles of Jedworth, Selkirk, Ettrick, Haddington, Lin-

go-

gow, Peebles, Dumfries, and Edinburg, which were the fineſt provinces in Scotland; he paid him the moſt ſlaviſh homage for the remainder of his kingdom.

When the Engliſh, in conſequence of this infamous ceſſion, came to take poſſeſſion of theſe places, the Scots began to look around them. They perceived that their king was in fact Edward's tool, and that this ſtep was introductory to his inſlaving all Scotland.

Whilſt the Scots were thus ripe for revolt, John Randolph, earl of Murray, coming over from France, with Philip's promiſe to reſtore young David; and acquainting his countrymen, that, purſuant to the treaty ten capital ſhips were coming over for that purpoſe, the Bruceans determined to commence hoſtilities. Robert, the high ſteward of Scotland, and ſir Colin Campbell, raiſed 400 men; and declaring for king David, ſurpriſed and took the caſtle of Duncan in Kyle. This little ſucceſs determined numbers of the nobility to join them; and the high ſteward, who, tho' very young, was a man of great abilities, was choſen king David's regent. In 1335, this regent is ſaid, by many hiſtorians, to have forſaken the intereſt of his country: it is very certain, that he did not act with the ſpirit with which he began; and the French, who, notwithſtanding their pompous profeſſions, were never hearty friends; having in all this year ſent the Scots no aid, Bruce's party, blocked up by Edward of England, who poſſeſſed Edinburgh caſtle, and the paſſes of Sterling and the Forth, was, in the moſt lamentable ſituation, without proviſions, money, and arms. But in the cauſe of liberty, what hardſhips will not a reſolute people endure. They retired to their fortreſſes, from which they ſurpriſed Engliſh detachments, and lived on their plunder.

The

The royaliſts led this ſevere life till the ſpring of 1336, when Philip of France began to ſtir in favour of David. He found a martial diſpoſition in the young monarch, whom he now intruſted with the command of 26 gallies, ſufficiently victualled and manned, with which he made deſcents on Guernſey and Jerſey. He was unable to land in his own dominions; but as Edward went to England, to conſult his parliament about proceeding againſt the French; his friends were able to aſſemble; and having taken Dunoter, Kineff, and Lauriſter caſtles, which Edward had well fortified and garriſoned; having been joined too by ſir Alexander Murray, who was taken priſoner in 1332, and now made joint regent, they grew ſtrong enough in the ſpring 1337, to reduce the caſtle of Bothwell, and were almoſt able to have ſtood a battle with Baliol's party. However, mindful of their late king's directions, they retired to their ſtrong holds, and only, as occaſion offered, ſkirmiſhed with the Engliſh. By theſe means, it appears, that at the cloſe of the year, Perth, Cowper, Sterling, and Edinburg, were all the fortified places which were in the poſſeſſion of either Baliol or his paramount. But in the beginning of the year 1338, ſir Alexander Murray, the regent, died, and Robert the ſteward of Scotland, being now ſole regent, prepared to enter heartily into king's David's cauſe; and Philip of France, with whom Edward had been tampering concerning the Scots, having ſolemnly declared that he would ſupport them to the utmoſt of his power; war between theſe two nations was the conſequence; and Edward, who ſeemed hot on the conqueſt of France, reſolved to command his army on the continent in perſon.

Whilſt the king of England was pre-
1339. paring for this expedition, ſir William Douglaſs went to France, to acquaint king David how matters ſtood in Scotland; and to repre-

epreſent the probability of his reſtoration, if the rench, in conſequence of their treaty, would furniſh him with troops. Philip, as an earneſt of his ntentions to ſerve the Scots, immediately ſent back Douglaſs with five ſhips, ſome troops, and plenty f proviſions. With this aſſiſtance, the regent was nabled to ſubdue the caſtle of Perth, which, in he abſence of Douglaſs, he had laid ſiege to, and which made ſuch a vigorous defence, that if this reinforcement had not arrived, he muſt have given up the point. But now Edward of England very likely not thinking himſelf yet ſufficiently able to cope with the united power of France and Scotland, concluded a truce (in which both nations were comprehended) to Midſummer 1340.

The truce was no ſooner expired, than Douglaſs, by the following ſtratagem, retook the caſtle of Edinburg: Being well acquainted with its ſituation, he, at day-break, preſented himſelf with about twelve of his trueſt friends, before the caſtle, diſguiſed like ſailors and waggoners, with carts attending them, in which they pretended that they had brought proviſions to the garriſon. The porter let Douglaſs come into the outer court. Douglaſs inſtantly killed him, and taking the keys of the caſtle from off his arm, he admitted his followers; having previouſly concealed a large body of armed men, under the ruins of adjacent buildings, they emerged from the rubbiſh at the ſound of a horn; and thus he became maſter of the garriſon, all which they put to the ſword, except Leigh, the governor, and ſix Engliſh eſquires. The next year Douglaſs plied Sterling ſo warmly, that, notwithſtanding a reinforcement from Edward the 3d, the garriſon was glad to capitulate for life and limb.

The brave and indefatigable Douglaſs had now left in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, only the two caſtles of Berwick and Roxburgh. At the former, were the two Edwards with a conſiderable force; but

the Engliſh army, tired out with following the Scots in their receſſes, where they often fell into ambuscades, and being beſides in want of proviſions, concluded a truce to the end of the year 1342. The baſis of it was, "That unleſs king David returned to his people, with force ſufficient to withſtand his enemies by June, the Scots would never acknowlege either him or his poſterity, but own Edward for their ſovereign."

This truce, which is denied by ſome, and by others ſaid to be diſhonourable to the Scots, on the contrary, reflected luſtre on them, as a free and ſpirited people. They knew that David was now of age to command an army; and under the preſumption that he was indulging in ſloth, or at leaſt that he was dilatory in urging Philip's aſſiſtance (as it never appears that the Scots had any other aid from him than what Douglaſs brought over), they undoubtedly thought, and with the greateſt propriety, that a king, who would make no efforts for a crown, or a people's liberties, was unworthy of government. David, who ſeems to have been detained ſo long in France, on no other motive than Philip's bubbling pretences, on the news of this truce, told the French monarch, that he muſt be dallied with no longer. Troops were now granted him; and in May, king David and his queen, accompanied by ſeveral Daniſh and Swediſh knights as volunteers, landed at Innerberry, from whence, amidſt the enthuſiaſtic ſhouts of his people, occaſioned leſs by his long abſence, than his then endearing behaviour, he proceeded to Perth. Here having viewed his army, and the deſolate ſtate of his kingdom, he was eager to ravage England; and eſpecially to reduce Berwick, in which caſtle his competitor Baliol reſided in quality of Edward's governor. His nobility, however, adviſed peace, and David, who had a deep ſenſe of his engagements with France, was at laſt, with difficulty,

brought

brought to conclude a two-years truce with Edward, who employed this time, in ſubduing the French; while David regulated his civil affairs, received an oath of fealty from his ſubjects, and conſtituted Robert, the great ſteward of Scotland, his heir, in default of iſſue.

Tho' the truce expired in 1345, nothing remarkable occurs till the year following, when David, whilſt Edward was in France, prepared to invade England. He was more than 60,000 ſtrong, and would have laid waſte all the county of Cumberland, if the monks had not compounded for their poſſeſſions, by raiſing him 1000 *l.* He eſtimated an Engliſhman's life at three pence, for whoever could not pay him that ſum was put to the ſword. The queen of England having raiſed an army, the ſtrength of which cannot be aſcertained, headed them herſelf, and on the 17th of October, oppoſed David near Durham. In this battle, (thro' the treachery, ſay Scottiſh writers, of Robert, the high ſteward, who was impatient to wear the crown), the Scots were not only totally defeated, but their king, tho' he performed the greateſt perſonal exploits, was taken priſoner, by a party under one John Coupland, two of whoſe teeth he daſhed out before he yielded to him. The brave Douglaſs, with the biſhops of St. Andrew and Aberdeen, the earls of Monteith, Sutherland, Fife, and many more ſhared their monarch's fate; and Hay, lord conſtable, Keith, lord marſhal, Stragutrin, lord chancellor, with other men of note, and above 20,000 common men were ſlain. The Engliſh, it ſeems, loſt four knights and five eſquires, but how many common ſoldiers is uncertain. Coupland hurried away his royal captive to Bamborough caſtle, which was his friend Piercy's; nor would he tell where the king was, or let him be delivered up to the queen, till he had ſeen Edward in France, who giving him 500 *l.* per annum, with the honor

of

of knighthood, ordered that he ſhould deliver Da[vid] to his valiant conſort, to be lodged in the Tow[er] till himſelf arrived in England. On the 2d [of] January 1347, David was accordingly lodged [in] that fortreſs; but Monteith, having long before ſwo[rn] fealty to Edward, was executed as a traitor.

Robert, the ſteward, who was now made rege[nt] of Scotland, prepared to ſtop the progreſs of Ba[l]liol, whoſe ambition reviving, he had reduced ſe[v]eral forts. But now a moſt dreadful plague, whic[h] had ariſen in Aſia, over-run Europe: no leſs tha[n] 20 millions of ſouls are ſaid to have fallen by thi[s] peſtilence, which cauſed a ceſſation of arms all ove[r] this quarter of the world till 1353. The ſtates o[f] Scotland, mean time, and till 1355, when the truc[e] with England expired, had made many ineffectua[l] negotiations concerning their king's ranſom. And tho' they paid for his maintenance while he was in captivity, they would not procure his enlargement on diſhonourable terms.

John, Philip's ſucceſſor, had now ſent them over ſupplies of money, and they therefore determined to recommence hoſtilities. They ſtormed Berwick, which, however, in 1356, was retaken; and this year Edward Baliol, who, excepting perſonal courage, ſeems to have been as weak a man as his father, being old, diſpirited, and unwilling to be the ball of fortune any longer, reſigned all his pretenſions to the Scottiſh throne, on condition of receiving, out of the cuſtoms of the towns of Hull and Boſton, 2000 *l.* per annum; with which he lived privately on his own eſtate, and died at Doncaſter in 1363.

1357. In the treaty which ſoon took place, after Edward Baliol's renunciation, Edward, for the firſt time, called David king of Scotland; and on the 3d of October, in this year, David obtained his liberty on the following conditions; "1ſt, That 100,000 marks be paid by 10,000 yearly, and that twenty hoſtages be given

the performance of it; 2d, Till this ſum be id, that both kingdoms preſerve peace with each ner; 3d, On failure of payment; that David ain ſurrender himſelf, or the lord ſteward, Dou-ſs and Murray in his room." The clergy and bility bound themſelves together with David for e true performance of theſe articles. But before dward parted with David, he is ſaid to have grati-d himſelf with dining, with his crown on his ad, between David, and John king of France, om the glorious Black Prince had made captive e preceding year.

David now returned joyfully to his kingdom. As e price of his liberty was great, he applied to ance for aſſiſtance; but that court pleading ilar diſtreſſes, (as indeed they might with great ſtice) his clergy are ſaid to have been his beſt ends. In 1359, he eſtabliſhed with England a eaty of commerce; and procured his ſubjects the erty of ſtudying at Engliſh ſeminaries. Nothing markable occurred, (except Jane, the Scottiſh ueen's death, in 1361) till 1363, when Edward opoſed a fœderal union with David; the ſub-ance of which was, That Edward would remit e remainder of the ranſom; that he would reſign l the places in his poſſeſſion, which had been for-erly conquered by Robert Bruce; that in all trea-es with other powers, each king ſhould either be iled in the plural number "the kings," or elſe the king of England and Scotland;" and in ort, that the king of England was willing to ant, by advice of his council, whatever the Scots uld reaſonably aſk, if king David, by way of quivalent, would conſtitute king Edward his eir.

This was a very extraordinary propoſal for ſo otent a monarch as Edward the 3d, to make to uch a king as David. He would gladly have cloſed ith it; but what is perhaps more extraordinary

than

than the propoſal itſelf, his people, notwithſtandi
a union like this, would have terminated their ha
ſhips, declared they would ſuffer ſtill greater, r
ther than their king ſhould, on any terms, reſig
their much-loved independency.

This ſcheme of Edward's proving abortive, D
vid, by advice of his parliament, married a you
lady, one Margaret Logy, by whom, though
the prime of life, not having any iſſue; it is ſai
that in the years 1365-6-7, they ridiculouſly viſit
the moſt noted ſhrines, and particularly St. Tho
mas-a-Becket's, on that pretence.

The hiſtory of Scotland now grows very dar
and all that we know for certain is, that on his r
turn from a viſit, which he had paid to Edwar
the king died without iſſue, at Edinburg, on the 2
of February 1370, in the 48th year of his age, an
the 41ſt of his reign. The character given him b
ſeveral is, that as a monarch, he was credulou
vain, and bigotted; and as a man, ingenious, ſobe
and affable.

ROBERT II.

1370. *Robert*, the high ſteward, (con-
cerning whoſe genealogy it is ſuffi-
cient to ſay, that he was the lineal
deſcendant of Walter, on whom Malcolm the 3d,
as has been remarked, firſt beſtowed the office,
agreeably to the act of ſucceſſion, now mounted th
throne; the firſt of the family of the Stuarts.

Fourteen years truce with the Engliſh takin
place, on his acceſſion, and no civil tranſaction hav
ing been handed down, nothing material tranſpire
till the death of king Edward the 3d, and his va
liant ſon, in 1377. French emiſſaries being then
the court of Scotland, encouraged Robert to ſur
priſe Berwick; but the Engliſh ſoon after retook it.
The year following, one Mercer, an able Scotch
ſeaman ſcouring the ſeas in a kind of piratical man-
ner, annoyed the Engliſh conſiderably; but John
Philpot

hilpot, a ſpirited alderman of London, having ted out a little fleet, at his own expence, took e rover with fifteen rich Spaniſh ſhips, which he ad under convoy. From this time, till 1384, ontinued a ſkirmiſhing war with intervening truces. ulky hiſtorians minutely deſcribe the taking and etaking of forts and towns; but it is imagined, hat the reader will readily diſpenſe with ſuch rela- ions here, eſpecially as neither party, after all their nvadings and ſkirmiſhings, gained any conſiderable dvantage.

In 1385, the Scots, renewing their antient league with the French, were aſſiſted by that nation with 0,000 *l.* and ſome troops, the number not known. Richard the 2d of England, being made acquainted with this circumſtance, entered Scotland, with a ompous army, like Edward the 2d, with an in- ention to ſubdue the people, and lay waſte the ountry. Robert, appriſed of his intentions, paſſed he Forth, with the moſt valuable of his effects; eaving a body of troops under lord Douglaſs, who ſhould occaſionally harraſs the enemy. Richard paſſing Berwick, found the country deſo- ate; continuing, however, his march to Edin- burg, he levelled that city with the ground; which ndeed in thoſe days, was ſoon effected, for Edin- burg not being then, as it is now, the capital of Scotland, conſiſted only of a few mean hovels. When he had performed this martial feat, the duke of Lancaſter, adviſing him to carry his arms acroſs the Forth, and follow Robert: the weak king, who, it ſeems, had been led to imagine, that the duke had a ſiniſter deſign in this advice, declared that he would not advance a ſtep further: in ſhort, he left Scotland, (Douglaſs continually harraſſing him) without doing one ſingle action, which could coun- tenance his expenſive preparations; on the contrary, Douglaſs obtained a truce for his countrymen till May 1387.

The

The Iriſh, during the laſt five years, havi
made deſcents on the weſtern parts of Scotlan
Robert, now determined to make repriſals. O
William Douglaſs, (a baſtard ſon of Archibald lo
Galloway,) accounted the moſt handſome and a
compliſhed gentleman of his time, and to who
Robert, for the affection he bore to him, had give
his daughter Giles in marriage, was ſent on th
expedition. He executed his commiſſion with gre
ſucceſs; for after having defeated the Iriſh milit
of Dundalk and Carlingford, he loaded a dozen
ſhips, which he found in the harbour, with boot
In his return home, hearing that the family of t
Montagues, who poſſeſſed the Iſle of Man, had be
haved amiſs to his countrymen, he laid it waſt
and then landed his ſpoils near Loch Riar.

Robert was ſo elated with the ſucce
1388. of Douglaſs, that, calling a parliamen
at Aberdeen, he propoſed an invaſion o
England. The ſtates concurring, he accordingl
raiſed two armies; one under the command of th
earls of Fife and Monteith, William Douglaſs an
Alexander Lindſay; and another under the earls o
Douglaſs, March, Crawford and Murray. Th
conſiſted of 15,000 men each. The former entere
Cumberland by the Weſt Marches, and the latt
proceeding directly to Northumberland, ravage
that county. Both armies met, according to agree
ment, near Newcaſtle, which was defended b
Henry and Ralph Piercey, ſons to the earl of Nor
thumberland. William Douglaſs having ſelecte
2000 foot and 300 horſe, determined to ſtorm th
caſtle next day; before which, it ſeems, he receive
a challenge from Henry Piercey, ſurnamed, from hi
fierce valour, Hotſpur, whom Douglaſs, at the firſ
onſet, diſmounted and deprived of his ſpear and pen
nant, with which he boaſted to return in triumph t
Scotland; and it was really his intention, as he found
that

t he muſt miſcarry in his attempt to ſtorm the
ſtle.

Henry was ſo mortified at this defeat, that he
ore Douglaſs ſhould never carry a ſpear of his in-
Scotland: Sallying out, therefore, in queſt of
uglaſs, with 600 horſe and 8000 infantry, he
und him encamped at Otterburn. Hotſpur at-
cked the Scots by moonlight, and with ſuch re-
lution, that they were on the point of being
uted, when the brave Douglaſs ruſhed into the
ddle of the Engliſh, with his battle-ax in his hand.
he Scots, in admiration of their leader, and re-
forced by the earl of Dunbar, returned with vi-
ur to the charge, and obtained a complete vic-
ry; though not without the loſs of their heroic
mmander, who having proceeded too incautiouſly
to the main body of the Engliſh, was ſurrounded
d cut to pieces, together with his chaplain, who
ught by his ſide: 200 Engliſh were left dead on
e field; and Hotſpur, and his brother, with a-
ve 100 perſons of diſtinction beſides, were taken
iſoners.

This celebrated battle, commonly called *Chevy-
ace-fight*, was fought on the 21ſt of July, in which
nly 100 Scots were killed, but double that num-
r were taken priſoners. Both parties, with re-
ect to their priſoners, behaved with the greateſt
neroſity; being exchanged for each other, or al-
wed to fix their own ranſom. In conſequence of
is battle, a truce was agreed on, till Auguſt 1392,
which the allies of both ſides were comprehended;
hough the Scots now very juſtly began to look on
e French as a ſelfiſh and wavering people.

King Robert, who was grown very infirm, and
ad, therefore, for ſome time, given the reins of
overnment to his ſon, the earl of Fife, did not
rvive this truce; for he died at his caſtle of Dun-
onald, on the 19th of April 1390, in the 75th
ar of his age, and the 19th of his reign.

Robert

Robert does not appear to have been fond of fig
ing; but he was mild, juſt, and (what he is gre
to be praiſed for) unwilling to undertake any af
without the full concurrence of his parliame
He is taxed with concupiſcence; for tho' he w
twice married, firſt to Elizabeth Meir, by wh
he had John, who ſucceeded him, and five oth
children; and afterwards to a lady named I
bel, by whom he had three; yet he kept t
miſtreſſes, by whom he had a numerous iſſue. R
bert was the firſt who introduced the coining
gold in Scotland. He ſeems likewiſe to have be
the firſt king who made uſe of any device or em
blem. His was a coronet over a terreſtrial glob
with the following motto, *Vanitas vanitarum,*
omnia vanitas.

ROBERT III.

This king's real name was *John*; b
1390. the ſtates of Scotland, who could n
forget the wretched John Baliol, a
who reflected with rapture on his ſucceſſor, Bruc
not having yet diveſted themſelves of their Caled
nian ſuperſtition, changed it to Robert. The ki
having been lamed by a kick from an horſe, and b
ing likewiſe both ſickly and of a meek diſpoſitio
after he had prolonged the truce with the Engli
till 1398, reſigned the adminiſtration of affairs a
moſt intirely to his brother, the earl of Fife, w
had been regent in the life-time of his father.

During this truce, the two powerful clans
Chattan and Kay being continually at enmity wi
each other, and diſturbing the peace of the real
the earl of Crawford was made the inſtrument
ſilencing their ſquabbles; which he brought abo
by this artful ſcheme: He propoſed that thirty
each clan, champions for both tribes, ſhould dec
their reſpective differences by the ſword; at t
ſame time that the king, who with his nobili
were to be ſpectators of the combat, would par
the offences of both, and reward the conquero
T

he Highlanders readily cloſed with the propoſal; d a day was appointed for the ſixty champions meet at the North-inch of Perth. But at this ndezvous, one of the clan of Chattan being found nting, Henry Wynd, a ſadler in the town, of- red, for a gold ducat, to ſupply his place. And w both parties engaging with the moſt unbounded ry, Wynd, whom perſonal enmity had not de- ived of ſkill and diſcretion, by his valour and tivity, obtained the victory over the Kays; on- one of that clan eſcaped the death which all e reſt had met with, by ſwimming over the Tay, hich indeed he was prudent in doing, ſince, be- des the ſadler, there was a third part of the hattans ſtill remaining. The reader from this re- tion, may form ſome idea of thoſe antient clans, hich were even then too barbarous and powerful be totally ſubdued.

Notwithſtanding, hiſtorians have tranſmitted no articulars, it is reaſonable to think that the coun- y, as well as the court of Scotland, during this ng interval of peace, muſt have greatly improved. The latter, however, as is but too commonly the aſe, imported vice with politeneſs. Robert had reated his eldeſt ſon duke of Rotheſay, and his rother, the regent, duke of Albany. Theſe were he firſt of that title in Scotland; and the former ow became profligate, and the latter ambitious. Rotheſay committed ſo many exceſſes, that his fa- her, in hopes of his ſettling, ſought to marry him. The thrifty king, who aimed to make as good bargain as he could for his ſon, told his nobility hat whoever bid moſt money ſhould be honoured with his alliance. The earl of March, who was he beſt bidder, paid down a ſum of money on the nail; and, coming to court a few days after, to ſet- le matters againſt his daughter's nuptials, he was old that his rival in power, the earl of Douglaſs, had ſince offered above him, and therefore, on that account,

account, was preferred. March, being great piqued, inſiſted that he had made a fair agreement and mentioned the money, which he had advanced as a proof; but finding that the duke of Albany was in the intereſt of Douglaſs, (whoſe daughter accordingly married Rotheſay) he gave up the point and demanded his depoſit money. As Albany refuſed to return it, he vowed revenge; and, renouncing his homage and ſervice to Robert, he repaired to England, and ſpirited up Henry the 4th againſt his countrymen.

1400. The Engliſh monarch, who ſince his acceſſion, ſeems to have had an eye to the independency of Scotland, countenanced the revenge of March; and, under pretence of being lord paramount of Scotland, invaded that kingdom; as well to right the earl of March (whoſe eſtates had been ſeized by Douglaſs) as to aſſert his own ſupremacy. He entered Scotland with a vaſt force, having a fleet attending to ſupply it with proviſions. He behaved at firſt with lenity, in hopes to draw the Scots to his ſtandard; but, not ſucceeding to his wiſh, and the duke of Rotheſay, who was full of fire and ſpirit, and was then at Edinburgh caſtle, offering to decide all diſputes by ſingle combat with him; he declined the challenge, but commencing hoſtilities, laid ſiege to the caſtle. Rotheſay's brave defence, together with the inſurrection of Owen Glendour in Wales, obliged Henry to raiſe the ſiege, and conclude a truce with the Scots for two years. Thus, though Henry gained no honour, except by his generous behavour to ſuch as were not under arms, the duke of Albany loſt a great deal; for as he kept back the royal army from the aſſiſtance of his nephew, he has been ſtrongly ſuſpected of having deſired his death, in order to pave the way to deſigns which he had ambitiouſly formed of ſucceeding to the throne himſelf. His future conduct ſeems to confirm this ſuſpicion; for ſoon

ſoon after, complaining to the king of the duke's debaucheries, Robert ordered him to be arreſted, and for a time confined in the caſtle of Falkland; where, ſhortly after his commitment, Albany ſtarved him to death. It is ſaid, that his life was miſerably lengthened out by a woman, who, however, with a good intention, let him ſuck the milk from her breaſts. How guilty ſoever this unhappy prince might be, as to the crimes alledged againſt him, nothing can excuſe the cruelty of his uncle, to whoſe ambition, the vulgar univerſally believe, he fell a martyr.

The earl of March, who had been diſſatisfied with the truce, now that it was ended, ſtirred up the Engliſh again. The Scots, appriſed of his intentions, determined to be before-hand with him; and the earl of Douglas met him, at the head of a large body of Engliſh forces, on Homeldon Hill. Here the Scots were ſo galled by the Engliſh archers, that, in ſpite of all the efforts of Douglas, and of ſir John Swinton, who, with a choſen party, charged the enemy ſword in hand, they were totally defeated; Douglas himſelf, who received five wounds, and loſt an eye, being, with ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction, taken priſoner.

Henry ordered lord March not to diſpoſe of his priſoners, till he ſaw them; when, being made acquainted with the amazing valour of lord Douglas, he is ſaid to have diſmiſſed him without ranſom, and the others on very trifling fines. In ſhort, the diſturbances in his own kingdom now ſtrongly inclined him to a peace with the Scots, eſpecially as it was reported that Richard the 2d, his predeceſſor, was ſtill living in that kingdom. This report, though groundleſs, haſtened the concluſion of a truce till 1405. In the mean time, king Robert became acquainted with the tragical end of his ſon, the duke of Rotheſay; but as the regent's power was above the reach of puniſhment, the old king

could only prevent the ſacrifice of his other ſon, by ſending him into France. The veſſel, in which he failed, was met by an Engliſh privateer, off Flamborough Head; the captain of which, as the truce was juſt then expired, took and carried her to London, and Henry confined the young prince and his retinue in the Tower; deſtroying by this action the character for generoſity, which the Scots themſelves had always hitherto beſtowed on him.

King Robert was no ſooner informed of his ſon's captivity, than (perhaps imagining it to be a ſcheme of Albany his brother,) he was ſeized with ſuch agony of grief, that he became immediately ſpeechleſs, and died in three days afterwards, on the 29th of March 1405. Robert, in his youth, had been remarkably handſome; and he is allowed to have poſſeſſed the virtues and abilities of a private man and a chriſtian; but ſcarcely any qualification which is requiſite in a ſovereign.

CHURCH. Scotland was interdicted by pope Boniface in this century, becauſe Robert Bruce refuſed to make peace with the Engliſh: however, upon an humble remonſtrance to his holineſs, ſigned by the nobility and clergy, the interdiction was ſoon releaſed; after which, the only thing remarkable is, that the biſhops, whoſe eſtates, at their deceaſe, had always been at the king's diſpoſal, now obtained the liberty of leaving their effects to whom they might think proper; and if they happened to die inteſtate, they became, like thoſe of the laity, the property of the neareſt relation.

JAMES I.

1405. The young *James*, as ſoon as his father's death was known, was declared king, by an aſſembly of the ſtates; which, at the ſame time, appointed, or rather continued, the duke of Albany regent, till he ſhould be releaſed from his captivity.

Henry

Henry treated his royal priſoner with much reſpect; and the regent was ſo far from deſiring his ſovereign's enlargement, that, without any efforts for his releaſe, he concluded a truce with England till 1409. But neither the generoſity, (if it may be ſo called,) of Henry, nor the power of Albany, could prevent the Scots from murmuring; and it ſeems, that during the truce, they committed ſeveral irregularities, which Henry had the prudence to overlook. As the truce approached to an end, they grew exceedingly clamorous; and immediately on its expiration, a party ſeized the caſtle of Jedburgh, (which the Engliſh had garriſoned ſince the battle of Durham) and laid it in ruins. The regent, perceiving that the people were bent on war, and concluding that it would be as unſafe as impoſſible for him to check them, prepared to muſter an army, under the command of the earl of March, who now had forſaken the Engliſh and had been reſtored to his eſtates.

The Scots, however, were diverted from marching into England, by an inſurrection of Donald, lord of the Iſles (a title of very indefinite ſignification) who had quarrelled with the regent, concerning his right to an eſtate. Donald, receiving intimation that Henry of England would eſpouſe his cauſe, ſeized the lands in diſpute, and levied a conſiderable force, in order to maintain them. The regent ſent Thomas, earl of Mar, againſt the rebel lord, who, after an obſtinate ſtruggle, was defeated at Harlaw. Donald, on this defeat, ſued for pardon; and on reſigning all claim to the eſtates in queſtion, and again ſwearing fealty to the crown of Scotland, obtained it. At the cloſe of this expedition, the fire of the Scots being in ſome meaſure abated, the regent had the addreſs, without diſſatisfying the people, to conclude a freſh truce with the Engliſh till 1415. 1410.

Henry the 4th dying in 1413, the Scots had great expectations of their ſovereign's enlargement; but Henry the 5th, on the contrary, confined James pretty cloſely at Windſor; and, without liſtening to any propoſals of ranſom, prepared to invade France. Here, whilſt Henry was reaping never-fading laurels, the duke of Albany was at his wits end to hinder the Scots from taking the advantage of his abſence from England, to releaſe their king; but the duke's ambition, and political ſhifts, were put an end to by his death in 1420; and it muſt be owned, that (notwithſtanding his perſonal vices, whilſt regent) he left the kingdom in a very flouriſhing condition.

The ſtates immediately appointed his ſon, Murdoch, his ſucceſſor, who not having the ambition, (nor the abilities) of his father, entered heartily into his maſter's ſervice. Henry the 5th had imagined, that while James was a priſoner in England, the Scots would not aſſiſt the French; and though this was pretty much the caſe, during the late regency; yet now, both out of reſentment, and to preſerve their faith with a people, who, notwithſtanding, had always uſed them ungratefully, they proved an excellent ally; though not the combined force of Scots and Frenchmen could ſtop the victorious Henry, who, however, was unfortunately cut off by a fever in the midſt of his conqueſts.

1422. His ſucceſſor, Henry the 6th, (or rather his counſellors) being uneaſy at this ſtrong attachment of the Scots to the intereſt of France, gave ear to propoſals for James's liberty; and it was agreed, that he ſhould enjoy his crown, on condition, "That the Scots withdrew their aſſiſtance from the French; and that they paid 40,000 *l.* for the expence of his maintenance." Theſe conditions being agreed to, the commiſſioners of both nations concluded a ſeven years truce; twelve hoſtages of the principal nobility were given for the

the performance of articles; and James, as ſoon as the treaty was concluded, having married Joan, the earl of Somerſet's daughter, returned in great ſplendour to his country; together with his conſort, (whoſe fortune ſtruck off 10,000 *l.* of the debt of England) and was crowned at Scone, on the 1ſt of May.

Hitherto the hiſtory of Scotland has worn an appearance almoſt wholly martial. Wars with England, and ſtrong diſſentions among an active, jealous, and powerful nobility, prevented the increaſe of internal police. And though duke Robert had, in ſome degree, attended to it, during the long truces; the weakneſs of his ſon, had, on James's arrival, left no traces of it behind. On the contrary, it ſeems, that he found Scotland in the utmoſt diſorder; his nobles acting like independent princes, and every where, either oppreſſing or miſguiding his people. As James was determined to reform his kingdom, he was too wiſe and too bold a prince not to begin with his nobility. He made a general law againſt leagues and combinations, and then called the late regent to account for his mal-adminiſtration. And though hiſtorians have not been able to diſcover the particular crimes, with which that nobleman, and his two ſons, were charged; it appears, that they were ſufficiently flagrant to condemn them; for they were all three beheaded purſuant to a ſentence of parliament. The execution of theſe three great men ſtruck the reſt with terror; and they promiſed faithfully to adhere to ſeveral wiſe ſtatutes and laws, which James had cauſed to be enacted; whilſt the forfeiture of the dukes eſtates added conſiderably to the king's revenues. 1424.

He then viſited the county of Inverneſs, the inhabitants of which were particularly barbarous; conſidering rapine and violence to be law, and bloodſhed and murder as mat- 1426.

ters of courſe. James, who knew that rough meaſures would have little effect on men, accuſtomed, as theſe were, to hardſhips and ſlaughter, invited the chieftains to the caſtle; where he made them acquainted with the nature of his laws; which he ordered not only to be obſerved by themſelves, but by thoſe under them; for whom, he told them, they, in a great meaſure, muſt be anſwerable. At the ſame time, in order to ſhew his authority, he executed three of them; againſt whom, their miſerable vaſſals had made heavy complaints. One of theſe cruel free-booters was Duff, a man remarkably wanton in his barbarity: He had ſhod a poor woman with iron, like a horſe, for repining at his cruelties; and then whipping her out of the town, bid her ſeek redreſs from the king. James hearing the ſtory, ſhod Duff in like manner, and after having had him flogged three times round the caſtle, hung him in chains.

Alexander, earl of Roſs, was a leading man in this barbarous county of Inverneſs. Some call him lord of the Iſles; however, he was ſo powerful, that James, to keep well with him, had winked at ſeveral crimes; and by affability and acts of kindneſs, endeavoured to make him his friend. The earl, it ſeems, promiſed fair; but James had no ſooner left Inverneſs, than he grew rebellious, and at the head of the clans, Hatton and Cameron, attacked the caſtle, which the king had garriſoned. James, ſhocked at his diſſimulation, and enraged at his ingratitude, offered a price for his head; when Roſs, not thinking himſelf ſafe, even amongſt his own troops, quitted them; and ſkulking about from place to place, endeavoured to get to Ireland. But ſo great was the ſearch after him, that, not being able to effect his eſcape, nor, by the intereſt of his friends, to procure a pardon, he determined to throw himſelf at the king's feet, and hazard his clemency. Accordingly, as well by way of diſ-

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guiſe, as to excite compaſſion, he, by ſome means or other, procured an old black rug, wrapped up in which, he appeared before the king and queen, at Holyrood-Chapel, during the time of divine ſervice. His wretched plight, and moving addreſs, intereſting the queen in his favour, ſhe prevailed with the king to ſpare his life; and James, to prevent his doing further miſchief, threw him into priſon, where he remained till his death.

The king, from the univerſal expreſſion of his people's love, reigning in the utmoſt tranquility, became now the protector and encourager of learning and arts. He had received an excellent education whilſt he was in England, where he became perſonally acquainted with Gower and Chaucer; and was himſelf a thorough judge, as well as no mean compoſer, of poetry and muſic. And though the univerſity of St. Andrew was eſtabliſhed in the former reign, in 1411, yet ſquabbles between the monks, and the inattention of the regent, having ſtinted the growth of ſcience, James, by taking that ſeminary under his patronage, may not improperly be conſidered as its founder. He not only rewarded induſtry and merit, in the fine arts, but, what is of infinitely more importance, in agriculture, trade, and manufactures. By theſe means, his court became the receptacle of men of genius, and the whole kingdom aſſumed a new face; for he had introduced a better ſtile of architecture; had regulated weights and meaſures, and the wages of labouring men; beſides, eſtabliſhing ferries and inns for the eaſe and convenience of travelling. In a word, this excellent king omitted nothing which he imagined might any way contribute to the intended reformation; and to prevent the growth of luxury and expence, he enacted ſumptuary laws, which expreſly prohibited any but his principal nobility from wearing gold or ſilver lace, or valuable furs; but in reſpect

to diet, he encouraged that kind which moſt conduced to the improvement of agriculture.

James, thus buſied himſelf till 1435; and the truce with England having been prolonged till that time, ambaſſadours now arrived from that nation with offers of perpetual peace. Lord Scroop, we are told, had orders to propoſe a marriage between his maſter, Henry the 6th, and the princeſs of Scotland. He was, beſides, impowered to reſign the caſtles of Roxburgh and Berwick, of which the Engliſh were then in poſſeſſion. James, at the head of his parliament, at Perth, received the Engliſh ambaſſadors; and as there was likewiſe a French ambaſſador preſent, who repreſented the antient league of the Scots and the French in a very ſtrong light, great debates enſued. The king, who though it may be eaſily perceived by his retrenching the too great power of his barons, that he had a great idea of prerogative, referred this affair to his people, who were of opinion that, conſiſtent with his engagements to France, he could not embrace the proffers of England. Scroop and the other Engliſh lords were, therefore, politely diſmiſſed. The Engliſh, on their return, being acquainted with the ill ſucceſs of the embaſſy, were extremely exaſperated; and more ſo, when they afterwards underſtood what indeed was really the caſe, that James, in conſequence of an application from France, had determined to beſtow his daughter on the dauphin; and that the princeſs of Scotland was then actually ſetting out, with a grand retinue, in order to the celebration of her nuptials. The Engliſh immediately fitted out a ſquadron, with a view to intercept the princeſs; who, by the weſtern coaſt, got ſafe to Rochelle, whilſt the Engliſh, engaging the Caſtile fleet equipped for the Scotch, were defeated.

Both nations were now in arms: the Scots under the earl of Angus, and the Engliſh under lord Northum-

Northumberland. The armies encountering each other, on the 10th of September 1436, at a place called Popperden; victory, after much wavering, declared for the former. The next year, James determined to take the field in perſon, having meditated the ſieges of Roxburgh and Berwick. He was lying before the former, at the head of a vaſt army, when the queen, greatly fatigued, overtook him, with the unwelcome tidings of a conſpiracy being formed againſt his life. He was ſome time in doubt, whether to reject her intelligence as a groundleſs report, or whether to credit the diſagreeable news as authentic. It was, however, a certain truth; and the horrid deſign received birth from the following circumſtances.

The earl of March, for reaſons which the reader has been made acquainted with, had forſworn his allegiance, and fought againſt his country; notwithſtanding which, Robert, the regent, on the earl's repentance, had pardoned and reſtored him to his eſtates. James, who had maintained, that it was in the breaſt of a king only to excuſe treaſon, having lately declared that pardon to be void, had deprived the earl of his title, and affixed his lands to the crown, by an act, declaring the pardons and grants of the late regents of no effect. Now, though there were but few, who had needed a pardon from the regents, there were many great men who held conſiderable eſtates by no other grant than theirs. An act, therefore, like this, could not fail of being highly diſpleaſing; for though the king had not greatly enforced the act, yet having made a precedent, and continuing daily, by propoſing a militia, and other politic maxims, to leſſen the power of his barons, they were in continual fear of being deprived of their poſſeſſions and importance. The earl of Athol, who imagined that he ſhould be one of the firſt in that caſe, determined, at a proper opportunity, to deſtroy the

king, that he, and the reſt, might preſerve their eſtates. This was the ſtate of affairs on the queen's arrival; but it does not appear that ſhe was acquainted with particulars; ſince the king, on her information, diſbanded his army (in which, whether he acted with ſpirit and prudence, is a queſtion for the reader) and retired to the Dominican convent near Perth, in order privately to aſcertain the conſpirators.

Athol, fearing to be diſcovered, made haſte to execute his purpoſes; and having bribed admittance into the convent, he, together with Robert, his grandſon, and his kinſman Graham, planted themſelves one night in the lobby of the king's anti-chamber. James was at ſupper with his queen, and thinking himſelf ſufficiently ſecure, had retained no body-guard, ſo that on the outer doors being opened by Straton the cup-bearer, they were prepared to ruſh in. He made a ſtand againſt them, calling out *treaſon! treaſon!* which alarming thoſe who were within, a young lady, the queen's attendant, ran immediately to faſten the door; but not readily finding the bar, ſhe boldly thruſt her arm into the ſtaple inſtead of it. In an inſtant, however, having diſpatched Straton, her arm was broken; and the wretches, falling on the king, he expired under thirty wounds. Thus fell this excellent prince, in 1437, in the 44th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign.

He was below the middle ſize, but yet excelled in martial and robuſt exerciſes. His mental vigour has been already recounted in his life. His manners and politics were too elevated for the people whom he governed; for had his ſubjects been properly civilized, they muſt infallibly have been happy under his government, and revered him for his juſtice, generoſity, and uncommon abilities. But the introduction of taxes, (in order at firſt to pay his captive-money in

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England) and his ſtrong efforts to break the ariſtocratical connection, a rude people, and a jealous, powerful nobility, could not brook. However, though his maxims were in general diſagreeable, his ſubjects ſeem to have been ſo far from deſiring his death, that they made uſe of every method to detect and apprehend the perpetrators of it. They were all three diſcovered; and ſeparately ſuffered death, under the moſt excruciating torture. Graham was ſo abandoned a wretch, that being aſked how he could lift his hand againſt a king, he proteſted he loved ſin ſo well, that ſhould the Almighty forgive and allow him a place in heaven, he muſt languiſh to be with the Devil.

JAMES II.

As this prince was but ſeven years of age when he aſcended the throne, it was thought neceſſary to appoint a proper perſon to the management of affairs, during his minority. The earl of Douglas, the greateſt nobleman in Scotland, was accordingly conſtituted lieutenant-general; ſir William Creichton, chancellor, and ſir Alexander Levingſton, the keeper of the young king's perſon; who were all to act under the direction of parliament. 1437.

A truce with the Engliſh, till May 1447, having been agreed on before the late king's murther, it was now ratified by the ſtates; who appeared unanimous for the welfare of their country. But Douglas dying, matters took a different turn. For the parliament then throwing the whole power of government into the hands of the two ſurvivors, Levingſton to be military and Creichton civil governor, and refuſing a ſhare of it to the earl's ſon; that young nobleman, full of ambition, but void of prudence, withdrew immediately from court, and retiring

retiring amongſt his vaſſals, refuſed ſubmiſſion to the joint-miniſters. Theſe, inſtead of taking meaſures to humble young Douglas, grew jealous of each other's power, and at laſt quarrelled. Creichton, who is ſaid to have been the abler man, got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, which he confined in the caſtle of Edinburg. Levingſton, in the ſtrongeſt light, repreſented this outrage to the queen-mother; by whoſe contrivance he regained her ſon, packed in a cloaths-cheſt.

The two miniſters were now ripe for open defiance; but the earl of Douglas having, by his example, taught many others to rebel, neceſſity conſtrained them to unite. On the 2d of Auguſt 1440, they therefore called a parliament; which voted that, on the notice of any rebellion, "ſlaughter, burning, robbery;" the tranſgreſſors ſhould be puniſhed, and the injured redreſſed. This, as the reader may conjecture, was principally intended againſt Douglas; who now marched about with ſeldom leſs than 1000 horſe in his train, and acted like an independent prince. But Creichton, afraid to uſe force againſt this nobleman, determined, as a ſtateſman, to make uſe of his proper weapons, diſſimulation and artifice. He ſent to the earl a letter, which invited him to take the lead in all public affairs. The bait took; Creichton met him in his way up; and uſhering him, his brother, and their friend ſir Malcolm Fleming, with much ceremony, into Edinburg caſtle, a ſplendid entertainment was provided. Towards the end of the feaſt there was placed before them a bull's-head; which, in thoſe times, being the ſignal of inſtant death, they ſprang from the banquet, and attempted to ſave themſelves. Their efforts, however, were in vain; for being in a moment ſurrounded, they were tied hand and foot, dragged into a back court, and immediately beheaded. This cruel piece of policy was executed on the 24th of November; but how-

however unjuſtifiable it may appear, it produced good order and tranquillity in Scotland till 1443.

James was now fourteen years old, and poſſeſſing ſenſe, ſpirit, and reſolution, determined no longer to be under the guidance of his tutors. He demanded the caſtle of Stirling from Levingſton, and that of Edinburg from Creichton; but as they refuſed to reſign them till he ſhould be at full age, he called a parliament, and proclaimed them traitors. The whole kingdom, on this ſentence, was in a blaze. Creichton put himſelf at the head of a ſtrong body, and over-ran the eſtates of the earl of Douglas, whom the king, deteſting the manner of his predeceſſor's murther, had taken into favour. This nobleman, notwithſtanding his ſeeming ſubmiſſion to James, was exceeding ambitious and ſelf-important. He ordered his military tenants to retaliate on Creichton, whilſt he was contriving with the earls of Crawford and Roſs to re-eſtabliſh the feudal power, which James, as well as his father, deſired to aboliſh. The earl thought that ſir William Creichton would be a good acquiſition; he therefore perſuaded the king to pardon him; and he was ſoon after reſtored to his office of chancellor. Both he and the earl hated Levingſton, whom now they cauſed to be impriſoned, and his eldeſt ſon, a man of the greateſt accompliſhments, they got beheaded.

The truce with England being now at an end, the Engliſh, under the command of the earl of Northumberland, paſſed Solway Frith, and ravaged the country. The Scots, headed by the earl of Drummond, met and defeated them at Sack, by which they became poſſeſſed of a prodigious booty. This battle produced the following uncommon agreement; "That though a truce ſhould actually take place, yet no preciſe time for its duration ſhould be fixed on; but if either nation choſe to recommence hoſtilities, 1449.

180 days previous warning was to be given." The following year a treaty of marriage having been concluded, between the king, and Mary the daughter of the duke of Guelders; the princeſs, with a grand retinue, landed in Scotland, and was married and crowned at Holyrood-houſe in July.

The king being now of age, began to conſider Douglas as a formidable nobleman. He had received intimation of his feudal intrigues, and therefore determined to curtail his exorbitant power. This the earl could not bear; beſides, the king had releaſed Levingſton whom he now favoured, and eſteemed Creichton more than ever; ſo that Douglas, ſeeing that he could not be the firſt man at court, retired diſcontentedly to his eſtates. Here he imitated the former earl in his manner of behaviour. He renewed a league with the lords Hamilton, Murray, Roſs, and others, who all ſwore to maintain their antient rights. In ſhort, he did all in his power to diſturb the peace of the kingdom; it was rumoured, that he even aſpired to the throne. The king, though he hated the ingratitude of the earl, (who, if he did not wiſh to wear the crown, was contriving to make it contemptible,) and ſaw his conduct with concern; yet, being unwilling to involve his people in a civil war, ſent a meſſage, with a ſafe-conduct to him, deſiring an interview at Stirling; intending, by the moſt friendly arguments, to prevail on him to drop his connections and return to his duty. When they met, he expreſſed great duty towards his ſovereign, but ſtoutly refuſed to diſſolve the confederacy; on which the king was ſo exaſperated, that he ſwore he ſhould. Drawing his dagger, in a tranſport of rage, "this ſhall break the league," ſays he to the earl, and plunged it in his heart. This bloody buſineſs was tranſacted in February 1452; and to judge from appearances, at firſt ſight, the chancellor Creichton, ſeems to have been its contriver; but

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is more likely, that the murther was unpremeditated, and the effect of the king's inſtant reſentment on finding the earl ſo deaf to his reaſons, and ſo provoking to his authority. It muſt be remarked, however, that no one was privy to the conference, ſo that James could tell his own ſtory; but how far, ſuppoſing every thing to be fact, the earl's behaviour might juſtify the king's conduct, is a diſquiſition ſubmitted to the reader.

The death of Douglas was no ſooner known, than it produced the civil war which the king had ſought to prevent. The earl's adherents attacked the caſtle, where the king kept on the defenſive. All was anarchy and confuſion: Neutrality was no where permitted, ſo that unhappy Scotland bled at every pore. The rebels were ſo ſtrong, that till the king was joined by the earl of Huntley, who had muſtered the Leſlies, Ogilvies, Grants, Irwins, and Forbeſſes, he was unable to give them battle. Thus reinforced, James attacked them, on the 18th of May, near Brechin, and gaining a victory, it fixed the crown, which before had tottered, on his head. The inſtruments of agriculture having been uſed in war, it is no wonder that a famine ſhould enſue. The Scots ſuffered extremely on that account during the winter.

In the following ſpring, the earl of Crawford, who was the chief man in the Douglaſean faction, having ſubmitted to James, and been pardoned by him, rebellion retired to her native Highlands; and the earl of Douglas, in expiation of his offence, propoſed to undertake a pilgrimage. James ſubmitted his conduct in this rebellion to biſhop Kennedy, and Creichton in particular, and his parliament in general; and it is remarkable, that ſo formidable a rebellion ſhould ſo ſoon and ſo eaſily be quelled; which ſeems to evince that the Scotch Lowlands were at that period almoſt unanimouſly loyal, and ſubmiſſive to civil government. The

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pilgrimage, undertaken by the earl of Douglas, was, in fact, only to carry off his ſiſter-in-law, commonly called the Fair Maid of Galloway, with whom he had fallen deſperately in love. He terminated his pilgrimage in England, where he ſwore allegiance to king Henry, who, ſome ſay, allowed him 500 *l.* a year, till he ſhould recover his eſtates from king James, and thus (a practice not uncommon) he made piety the cloak of his treaſon and his luſt. The latter, notwithſtanding, was very ſoon diſappointed; for the Fair Maid diſliking his perſon and manners, eloped from him, and returned to Scotland. James granted her part of the Douglas eſtate, and affixed the remainder to his crown.

1455. The royal revenues not being deemed ſufficient, a parliament met on the 4th of Auguſt, in which the members ſeem to have forgotten their feudal barbariſm, and to have entertained ideas of true liberty. To ſupport the dignity of the crown, they annexed to it caſtles and lands in different parts of the kingdom for his majeſty's reſidence. Theſe were always to be royal poſſeſſions; for they enacted that the king ſhould not alienate them, without the full concurrence of parliament. If any king ſhould be tempted unlawfully to diſpoſe of part of them to ſome favourite; in that caſe, the ſucceeding king had power to retake them, without a proceſs of law, with all the profits and revenues from the time, when ſuch lands were alienated. They likewiſe enacted, that no office ſhould be hereditary, except the guardian of the Marches. Theſe and ſeveral other acts, tending to the ſecurity of the frontiers, were not revokable even by the king; whoſe power, and that of his ſucceſſors, was firmly eſtabliſhed; and, at the ſame time, to prevent abuſe, as firmly bounded, by this patriotic parliament.

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During these transactions, the restless Douglas, having maintained a secret correspondence with Ross, lord of the Isles, excited that nobleman to rebellion. Ross, accordingly declared himself independent of the crown of Scotland; and, in March 1456, he raised an army, and committed the greatest barbarities in Murray and Inverness; but not being assisted by Douglas, as he had expected, he sued for pardon; and, through the intercession of his countess, who was a great favourite with the king, obtained it.

James was now in a state of felicity: he regulated his coin by the English standard; and, like his predecessor, enacted sumptuary laws. The vulgar were only on holidays permitted to wear cloaths that were of a red, blue, or a green colour; coarse grey being appointed for working days; and none but the prime nobility and prelates were permitted to wear scarlet cloth and furs. He forbad the diversion of foot-ball and goff, and ordered butts and bow-marks in every parish, and that the male inhabitants, between the years of 12 and 52, should every Sunday practice shooting. He was very severe in punishing beggars, who were not under 14 nor or above 70 years of age; and as the Scots about this time, it seems, were much addicted to piracy, the number of sailors was limited.

While James was thus busying himself for four years; the disputes between the houses of York and Lancaster had put England into a flame. It is a strong proof of his moderation, that he did not take advantage of these commotions. He remained neuter in the affair, till Henry's queen, after suffering several defeats, applied to James for protection and assistance, offering to give up Douglas, (though he had been of great service to her) and in case, through the aid of James, she should prove victorious, to assign over to him Berwick and Northumberland. James had no great reason to favour

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the houſe of Lancaſter; nor did he do it till he found that the duke of York (who it ſeems had alſo made him great offers) was guilty of double dealing. He then determined to beſiege Berwick and Roxburgh, and afterwards to enter England in behalf of Henry, or rather of his queen. Great preparations were made for this expedition, in which the king was excellently ſerved by his ſubjects. Roſs, lord of the Iſles, joined him with a ſtrong body of Highlanders; and to extenuate the rebellion which he had been guilty of, he offered always to ſuſtain the firſt ſhock of the enemy. James, however, not being willing to truſt him with ſuch a ſeparate command, ſtationed him near his pavillion. The earl of Huntley, ever loyal, had alſo joined him, and now the king laid cloſe ſiege to Roxburgh. He had a fine train of artillery; and commanding a general diſcharge of it, he would needs ſtand by and ſee that his orders were punctually performed. This curioſity proved fatal to him; for a cannon, which he ſtood cloſe to, burſt in the exploſion, and killed him on the ſpot. This ſad accident befel him on the 3d of Auguſt 1460, in the 30th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign.

James the 2d was robuſt, tall, and active: he had a red ſpot on his cheek, by which he acquired the name of Fiery-face. He was brave, juſt, and temperate; but he is ſaid to have been paſſionate; of which indeed, his murthering Douglas is a proof. His deportment, though martial, was vaſtly engaging, familiar, and inſinuating. As his father had begun to ſhake the pillars of Ariſtocracy, he poſſeſſed abilities that, had he lived, muſt effectually have overturned them; the feudal ſyſtem, which, at that time, governed all Europe, would then have been firſt ſubverted in Scotland.

JAMES

JAMES III.

The queen, on the news of the king's
ath, immediately carried her ſon, who 1460.
s then but ſeven years old, to Kelſo;
here he was crowned James the 3d. She then
urned to the ſiege, which was carried on ſo
ch in earneſt, that the caſtle ſurrendered for bag
d baggage. She next demoliſhed Wark, and
en returning to Edinburg, called a parliament;
hich, after ſome altercation, conſtituted her the
ng's tutrix. This was in the year 1461, when
e diſpute in England terminated in favour of the
uſe of York, which obliged Henry and his queen
d their only ſon to fly to Edinburg, where they
ere kindly received. The Lancaſtrians, however,
ere ſtill a ſtrong party, poſſeſſing many caſtles; in
rticular, Berwick, which Henry preſented as a
bt of gratitude to the Scots, who accordingly
ok poſſeſſion.

The earl of Douglas had now ſided with the
her party; and had the addreſs to excite Roſs,
rd of the Iſles, once more to rebellion. He re-
wed his cruelties with his claim of independency,
d ſwore to aſſiſt Edward of England, as well
ainſt his own country as the houſe of Lancaſter.
his nobleman, in the midſt of his barbarities,
ed, and it is ſaid, raving mad; but his
n renewing the rebellion, Edward grow- 1464.
g very popular, and the queen-regent
ing dead, the ſtates of Scotland, for the ſecurity
the kingdom, concluded a truce with England
l 1519, in which Douglas and Roſs, as ſubjects
England were included: But as this truce was
n condition, that James ſhould in no ſhape, aſſiſt
enry or the houſe of Lancaſter; that weak prince,
ſiring in diſguiſe, was diſcovered in Lancaſhire,

by

by sir Edward Talbot, who hurrying him to London, he was, by the exulting Edward, imprisoned in the Tower. The queen, however, and her young son got safe into France.

The care of James's person, and education had been committed to Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, a man of the greatest worth and learning; who dying, the ambitious family of Boyds contrived to get the young monarch from lord Kennedy, the bishop's brother. They succeeded at an hunting match; and the king was so pleased with his change of situation, that he created the head of the Boyds earl of Arran; gave his own sister in marriage to him, and appointed him his proxy for his own alliance with the daughter of Christian, king of Denmark and Norway, which, to conciliate some disputes concerning the Ebrides, or Western Isles, had been agreed on. The royal nuptials were solemnized in July; James considering Shetland and the Orcades as his queen's dowry.

1469. During the absence of the earl of Arran, the Boyds had lost much ground; and so uncertain is the favour of a young king, that the earl, though he brought a blooming bride to his master's arms, was received with the most mortifying coolness. He saw the storm which was gathering over his head; and he determined to provide against the shock. He had scarcely returned to Denmark, before he was impeached in parliament; his wife, by the most barbarous despotism divorced; and himself (though he had procured an act, dated the 25th of October 1466, justifying his conduct, in seizing the king,) condemned and outlawed. Lord Hamilton being now the king's favourite, the countess of Arran was compelled to marry him, some say even before the earl's death which happened at Antwerp in 1471. These facts palliated as they have been by some writers, must ever remain injurious to the memory of James

no devoting himſelf to ſtudies unworthy of a king, ry ſoon diſregarded his nobility, and choſe him- f intimates out of the very dregs of even a foreign ople. Cockran, a maſon, Rogers, a muſician, orſiſan, a fencing-maſter, Leonard a ſmith, and ommil a taylor, were his inſeparable compa- ons. He thought himſelf under conſtraint in e company of his nobles; and continuing this urſe of life for ſeveral years, he took infinite ins to undo all which his father and his grand- ther had done, reſpecting the power of the rons; and to work his own ruin. However, the rliament ſtill conſulted the good of the nation, by aking many wiſe ſtatutes; the moſt material of hich, was an act concerning the fiſhery. Certain rds were ordered to provide buſſes, nets, and other ceſſaries, for that purpoſe. And had this act been ell attended to, the Dutch had ſtill, very proba- y, been inconſiderable; but on the contrary, in great meaſure, by this very article, they enriched emſelves to a degree capable of diſputing the ſo- reignty of the ocean; whilſt the Scotch nobility ontended about matters of little honour and no rofit.

James now became infatuated by judi- ial aſtrology, and an abſurd belief of 1477. itchcraft. Thus poſſeſſed with the bi- otry of an enthuſiaſt, he put to death his own rother, the earl of Mar, on the ſole authority of n old woman, who pretended that he had a deſign n his life. The duke of Albany, his other bro- her, apprehenſive of a ſimilar fate, fled into France, nd from thence into England, where, entertaining deſign to dethrone his brother, he promiſed Ed- ard the 4th that he would ſwear fealty and do ho- nage to him, if, by his aſſiſtance, he could poſſi- ly obtain the kingdom. Edward inſtantly con- urred with his deſign: he ardently longed to ſe- ure Scotland, and therefore he broke the truce, nd aſſiſted Albany with forces, under the command

of

of the duke of Glouceſter, who laid ſiege to B
wick.

James raiſed an army to oppoſ
1482. Engliſh; but the chiefs, who comma
in it, thought that they had then th
opportunity of cruſhing the king's unworthy fa
rites. They accordingly ſeized them in the ki
pavilion, at the camp of Lauder. Cockran
maſon, whom he had created earl of Mar, Ro
the muſician, whom he had knighted, Tor
the fencing-maſter, and four others of the la
claſs, without any form of trial, were hung up
rectly in his preſence, over a bridge, and he m
no efforts to ſave them. After the nobility h
offered this grateful ſacrifice, to their country,
odious favourites, inſtead of proceeding againſt
enemy, they drew off in ſeparate diviſions, a
the poor deſerted James retired, with grief, to h
caſtle at Edinburg.

Mean time, the two dukes, leaving 4000 m
before Berwick, advanced with the main body
Edinburg. As they met with no oppoſition in th
march, they committed no miſchief. This m
deration was probably owing to Albany, wh
not finding his countrymen ſo hearty in his deſig
as he had expected, now pretended that he o
ſought aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, for the recove
of his eſtates, without having any views detrime
tal to his brother. The ſtates, therefore, (for th
king ſeems at this time to have been a mere cypher
reſtored him to them; and as the Engliſh inſiſ
on being paid for their trouble, with the caſtle o
Berwick, it was accordingly ceded to them.

Albany now grew exceedingly popular; an
James, who began in the following year to reco
ver his authority, made him his prime miniſte
But the duke beginning to tamper afreſh with ſome
of the nobility, who, notwithſtanding the meanneſs
and imprudence of the king, continued his friends,
grew ſuſpected. Guilt and fear, which are always in-

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S. Wale delin.

T. Simpson Sculp.

parable companions, made him haſtily retire to caſtle at Dunbar; from whence he fled, and e more ſought the protection and aſſiſtance of Engliſh.

Richard received him kindly; but his own do-ſtic concerns incapacitated him from affording any er aid than 500 horſe; with which, and what volunteers he and the earl of Douglas (who s ſtill a priſoner in England) could jointly ob-n, he propoſed to plunder Lochabar fair.

he old earl attended him in this ſeanda- 1484.
us expedition. They thought to have ſur-ſed the market-place, but they were diſappointed; the towns people, having been informed of their ended viſit, and that the main object was plun-r, had aſſembled the borderers, who being well med and diſciplined, fought, defeated them, and hat ſtill added to their renown, made captive that rebel, Douglas.

Kirkpatrick, by whom he had been taken, car-d him in triumph to Edinburg. The earl ap-ared before his king with a ſullen pride, and even rned his back on him; nevertheleſs, James, with generoſity, which ſome have thought faulty and -timed, pardoned his crimes, and allowed him to tire to the abby of Lindores, where he had re-ived his education, and where he ſoon after died.

s for the duke of Albany, having in this defeat, ſt his friend Douglas, and being afterwards un-ble to procure any Engliſh aſſiſtance, he ended his ays in France.

Had James now purſued wiſe meaſures, he might ave lived on good terms with his nobility, and een an happy monarch: But ſtill continuing his npopular conduct, his nobles, piqued at his diſ-gard of them, formed a dangerous confederacy. On the firſt news of it, he ſhut himſelf up in Stir-ng caſtle, forbidding, on pain of death, any per-on, in arms, to approach it.

The

The king's eldeſt ſon, then about
1487. teen years of age, headed the conſpirato
ſo that the extent of their deſign was
no longer a ſecret. James was given to underſta
that he might, if he choſe, reſign his crown to
ſon, without bloodſhed. This he refuſed; on
contrary, he raiſed forces by proclamation, in
der to ſubdue the rebels. Both parties met at B
nockburn, a field in which the great Bruce had gai
the greateſt renown; but it was now to be ſtai
with patriotic blood. The lords Erſkine, M
teith, Graham, Maxwell, Ruthwen, Crawford,
Lindſay, commanded in the royal army, which
tacked the confederate lords with great ſpirit;
they were ſoon repulſed, and, in a very ſhort ti
totally defeated. The king loſt his ſmall port
of courage at the firſt charge; and turning
galloped out of the field on full ſpeed. He
hardly rode two miles ere his horſe threw him,
he was taken up half dead by a miller, who ca
him to his hut. Having recovered his ſenſes,
deſired a prieſt; and incautiouſly letting the mi
into the ſecret of his rank, he ran out calling
a prieſt to confeſs the king. Borthwick, who, w
lord Gray, was purſuing him, juſt then paſſed
"I am a prieſt, ſays he, lead me to his majeſt
As ſoon as he ſaw James, he aſked him if he tho
himſelf very dangerouſly wounded; and on his
ſwering in the negative, he ſtabbed him to
heart.

Thus he fell on the 11th of June, 1488, in
35th year of his age, and the 29th of his rei
He was certainly a weak, mean, jealous,
credulous prince; though many errors of gove
ment, into which he fell, may be attributed to
want of a ſettled and regular education:
defect, however, might have been ſupplied
able counſellors; but he hated his nobility,
they effected his ruin. As a man, he was j
mer

erciful, and remarkably handſome. His juſtice is ndeed queſtioned by ſome, for uttering coin, which, r its exceeding baſeneſs, was called *Black Money*; ut as ſoon as he found it was diſagreeable to his eople, it was called in. He had a good taſte for rchitecture, which ſhewed itſelf in the many edi- ices that he erected.

JAMES IV.

The late king's death was for ſome ime unknown: As ſoon as the news of reached the ears of young James, he is aid to have diſcovered much contrition and filial egard. It is pretty certain, that he did not take rms againſt his father from principle; though at he ſame time, the diſtance, at which he had been ept by him, (even to the ignorance of his perſon) nade him, young as he was, the more readily ſide vith the confederate lords; whoſe only aim in gain- ng him to their party was merely to ſanction their ctions. The power which had firſt perſuaded, ow governed him: it is no wonder, therefore, hat the regicide was pardoned; that every meaſure, vhich had been taken againſt his late majeſty was indicated, and that all the loyal nobles, who had en- oyed places of profit, were ſuſpended. 1488.

Our young monarch's grief ſoon ſubſided; and s he diſcovered, as well towards his people, as in himſelf, an excellent diſpoſition, it was ſucceeded y tranquility throughout the kingdom, which or ſeveral years had been unknown. Parties, vhich are the bane and diſgrace of a nation, coa- eſced; and the parliament, which met in 1493, was vholly intent upon what is now only a ſecondary conſideration,--the ſervice of their country. Obſer- ing the neglect of the late law, reſpecting the iſhery, they enacted, that all maritime towns ſhould

provide veſſels of at leaſt twenty tons burthen for that ſervice; and that idle perſons ſhould be preſſed to man them. This act was followed by ſeveral others relative to their trade and civil policy: and in regard to their religion, they held the pope's authority ſo cheap, as to paſs a vote, that none but cardinals, and ſuch as were natives of Scotland, ſhould be conſidered as his legates.

When James came of age, he made a
1494. circuit round his dominions, that he might diſcover and redreſs his people's grievances. He found that the poor of his ſubjects were too frequently plundered of their cattle, by their more powerful neighbours; but he ſoon made ſuch wiſe regulations in this reſpect, that (to uſe his own expreſſion) "the bulruſh guarded the cow." Agriculture he every where encouraged; and rightly conſidered it as the great ſource of a nation's eaſe, opulence, and glory: and in fine, ſcarcely any thing was omitted, which, at the ſame time, that it promoted the welfare of his people, inſured his own happineſs, and circulated his fame. There cannot be a greater proof of James's good character, than that ſo ſhrewd, cautious, and parſimonious a monarch as Henry the 7th of England, ſhould invite him to be his ſon-in-law. This match, which would have been the moſt illuſtrious of any in Europe, was prevented by the arrival of Perkin Warbeck.

This Perkin was ſet up by the dutcheſs of Burgundy, to perſonate one of Edward the 4th's children; both of whom were generally thought to be murthered by Richard the 3d. Perkin had at one time a very ſtrong party in England, who really believed him to be the identical duke of York. He was a young man, near about James's own age, ſenſible and engaging; and the Scottiſh monarch, who had a great deal of the knight-errant in his diſpoſition, conſidering him as a diſtreſſed prince, not

not only gave him a very hoſpitable reception, and his own couſin in marriage, but entered ſo warmly into his cauſe, as to endeavour at placing him on the throne of England.

In this action of James, the principal, if not the ſole motive, was glory: 1497. He raiſed a formidable army, with which, accompanied by the pretender, he entered Northumberland. Here a manifeſto was publiſhed againſt Henry as a traitor, a tyrant, and a murderer; and all loyal ſubjects were invited to join their lawful prince; but not a man of the leaſt conſequence repaired to his ſtandard; ſo that James, who now began to think that he had been impoſed on, after ravaging the country, returned with a conſiderable booty to his dominions. Henry being at this time engaged in quelling a very powerful rebellion, was in no condition to reſent the affront; and avarice, which was his ruling paſſion, made him afterwards eaſily brook it. He pretended, indeed, to his parliament, that he would purſue the king of Scots with fire and ſword, and by that feint enriched his coffers with the grant of a conſiderable ſubſidy; at the ſame time, as a ſalvo for his honour, he procured the Spaniſh ambaſſadour (who was treating with Henry on a marriage between Ferdinand's daughter and the prince of Wales) to prevail on James to diſmiſs Perkin, and ſollicit an accommodation. James needed little entreaty to part with Perkin, whom he now believed to be the ſon of a proſelyte Jew of Tournay; and as he had only undertaken the expedition on his account, the Spaniſh miniſter found little difficulty in his negotiation. A ſeven-years truce with England was accordingly patched up; and Perkin, whom James would not betray, was allowed a ſhip to convey him to the Continent; but determining to try his fate once more in England, he landed in Cornwall, was taken priſoner at Taunton, and executed at

London as a traitor, in November 1499. But Henry, ſtruck with the uncommon beauty of his wife, and finding that ſhe was not pregnant, made her a lady of his queen's bed-chamber, and aſſigned her a ſuitable revenue.

The diſturbances in England being now over, Fox, biſhop of Durham, was ordered to hint to James that an alliance with the king of England would be advantageous: James now thought ſo too, and therefore he demanded Henry's daughter in form. Margaret was accordingly given
1500. to him, with a portion of 30,000 *l.* though being then but ten years old, ſhe was not to enter Scotland till 1503, nor was her fortune to be paid till after conſummation. This negotiation, which gave birth to the future union, paved the way to a preſent peace between the two crowns, which was ratified on the 4th of January 1502, on the following conditions; "That ſuch powers as did not chuſe to be comprehended, might, in caſe of a future war with them, be aſſiſted by either without a breach of it. That it might be rendered null, ſhould both parties ſo chuſe, if the princeſs Margaret died before the conſummation of her marriage; but if not, the peace ſhould be ratified by the pope, and the party, who then firſt broke it, ſuffer excommunication." Henry, in this treaty, called himſelf king of France as well as of England; but it is memorable to obſerve, that the former title was obliged to be ſtruck out, before James would ratify the conditions; a compliment to the French, which that nation, in her conduct towards the Scots, had never merited.

A peace with England being thus concluded, James aſſembled his parliament, which
1502. voted proper courts of juſtice all over the Highlands, where, though moſtly wanted, they had been greatly neglected: ſo that there was now hardly a ſpot in Scotland, where the inhabi-

tants

nts could not immediately appeal for redreſs. Premeditated, as well as accidental murther, was exceedingly common; the perpetrators of the former were therefore ordered to be puniſhed by death without remiſſion. Smuggling being likewiſe very uſtomary, ſevere laws wereenacted againſt it; and ll tranſmarine ſuits were to be ſettled by arbitration. The parliament, which then conſiſted of three eſtates, iz. great barons, leſſer barons, and clergy, next began its own regulation. In the feudal ſyſtem, the eſs was always accountable to the greater. If the aron had vaſſals under him, the king exacted the ſervice of the baron, and originally attendance in parliament, which formerly was called the king's court, was a point of duty. Accordingly, every baron, reat or ſmall, was obliged to attend the king's ſummons till the time of Robert Bruce; who, finding hat it gave the latter trouble and uneaſineſs, diſpenſed with their attendance. James the 1ſt enacted this nto a law, obliging them, however, to ſend a certain number of men, whom they beſt reſpected, to repreſent them all. But the attendance of the greater barons was on no pretence to be omitted. Before the reign of this great prince (James the 1ſt,) parliaments were ſeldom convened, but for the purpoſe of war; for the great barons, having till that time, more or leſs, all the Scots under them in vaſſalage, their concurrence was abſolutely neceſſary towards the prince's carrying on a war; and in thoſe aſſemblies they had little ideas of any civil debates. They deſpiſed ſuch talents as qualified them for civil ſociety, and hated to appear in parliament, becauſe the king ſat there, in particular, as their paramount. This circumſtance, till learning began to flouriſh, made the great barons not only to refuſe their attendance, but even to rebel. The leſſer barons of courſe, neglected to attend themſelves, or even to ſend their repreſentatives: in fact, none

choſe to undertake the office; ſo that in the time of James the 2d, a ſeat in parliament was as much ſhunned, as it is at preſent ſought after. Their antipathy, however, abated by degrees; though as James the 4th complained that his boroughs were not properly repreſented, it was enacted by the parliament then ſitting, that the great councils of all capital towns ſhould regularly, againſt every meeting of the ſenate, chuſe and ſend Burgeſſes, who, together with the other barons, ſhould debate on ſuch uſeful acts as ſhould, from time to time, be offered to their conſideration, by the lords of articles, noblemen who were appointed to prepare and bring in bills. But, notwithſtanding this act, it does not appear that they were quite regular, in this reſpect, till the reign of James the 6th.

The year following, the king aſſigned the lands of Etrick, Newark, March, the earldom of Monteith, and the lordſhips of Linlithgow, Down, Dunbar, Methuen, and Stirling, which were about the value of 2000*l.* ſterling per annum, for his queen's jointure.

Every neceſſary preparation was made for the delivery and reception of the royal bride. Her father, Henry, on his part, made a ſtrong effort to become magnificent; but miſtaking the character, like moſt miſers, when they meditate a ſpurt of generoſity, he ſubſtituted tawdry pomp for real ſplendor, and in lieu of magnificence, prodigality.

On the 16th of June, the young queen ſat out from Richmond in Surry, in company with her father, and attended by his prime nobility. The king ſaw her to his mother's ſeat at Colleweſton, after which, he reſigned her to the earls of Surry and Northumberland, who conducted her to the borders of Scotland, where ſhe was received with tenderneſs by his majeſty, and the next day, in the moſt ſuperb and elegant manner eſcorted to Edinburg. It is needleſs to ſay that for ſeveral weeks

there

here were the greateſt rejoicings: tilts and tournaments, the feſtivities of thoſe times, were performed in the day, and maſquerade dances by night; in ſhort, nothing was omitted to give the young queen a favourable idea of her change, and to contribute to her happineſs.

James was now at the height of felicity: He was in perfect peace abroad; allied to a monarch, if not the greateſt, perhaps the richeſt in the world; in the moſt friendly correſpondence with his nobles, who repaid his confidence with affection and duty; and, conſcious of no crimes, he was happy in himſelf. His ſtudy was his people's proſperity; and literature and the fine arts were his amuſements. In 1507, he chaſtiſed the Netherlanders for plundering his merchant-men, by viſiting them with a ſquadron under command of the famous Barton.

Henry the 8th aſcending the throne of England on the demiſe of his father in 1509, James congratulated his brother-in-law on the occaſion, and they lived in perfect amity together for four years, during which time, James had greatly augmented his navy, and had built (more indeed for ſhew than ſervice) a ſhip, 250 feet from ſtem to ſtern, and 10 within her ſides, and which (ſays one) were 10 feet thick: ſhe ſeems to have been the greateſt veſſel then in Europe; was called the St. Michael, and Barton commanded her.

The moſt diſagreeable part of James's reign is now to be mentioned; his unhappy difference with England, which brought about his ruin. The reader has remarked, that it was cuſtomary whenever the Engliſh invaded France, for the Scots, as the ally of the latter, to make a diverſion into England in their favour. Henry was at this time at war with that nation; and James, whoſe notions of honour and punctilio ran exceedingly high, was attacked on his weak ſide, both by the French miniſters, then at his court, and his own clergy (who,

as Buchanan ſays, were uſed to the fingering of French gold) by arguments and perſuaſions, not a little forcible on the mind of a young high-ſpirited prince; who, though he had been ſo long at peace, delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. Whilſt James was wavering in his reſolution, ſome diſputes with Henry, concerning their reſpective ſhipping, determined him to break with that monarch, and to ſide with his enemy. It appears, that the Engliſh king had expected that this would be the caſe, and therefore had prepared himſelf againſt it, ſo that when James ſtormed Berwick and Norham, they made a moſt vigorous reſiſtance. However, he took the latter; and then, notwithſtanding the earneſt diſſuaſions of his wife, he proceeded on his march into England at the head of 50,000 men, amongſt whom were all his principal nobility, who were as paſſionately fond of glory as their ſovereign. James was ſtopped in his career by the earl of Surry, at the head of 26,000 choice troops, near Floddon; where James and his gallant army, by the ſuperior conduct of Surry, a maſter in the art of war, were diſordered and defeated. James, ſcorning to ſurvive his diſgrace, ruſhed into the thickeſt of the enemy and was ſlain; and moſt of the nobility, having the ſame ſentiment, ſhared the ſame fate.

This memorable defeat, which ſome have attributed to the treachery of the earl of Hume, who drew off unaccountably with his diviſion, happened on the 9th of September 1513. The Engliſh, however, did not know that they had gained a victory till the next day, when they found themſelves maſters of the field and the Scotch artillery. Thus fell the great James, in the 40th year of his age and the 25th of his reign, in a battle raſhly undertaken, unfortunately conducted, and fatally terminated. He is ſaid, indeed, to have been ſeen after the engagement, beyond the Tweed; ſo that ſome

ome pretend he was aſſaſſinated by the earl of lume, who, according to report, had latterly been uch diſaffected to his perſon.

James was of a middle ſtature, of a robuſt make, nd pleaſing aſpect: his genius was elevated and nterpriſing; in manners, he was gentle, affable, po-te, and as a king he may be ſtiled the father of his eople. He was ſlow in making a reſolution, but nce reſolved, he never receded: the too fond af-ection of popular applauſe was his failing, and if e had a fault, it was his immoderate devotion to he fair ſex. He maintained a literary correſpon-ence with the princes of his time, and wrote Latin n a ſtile perfectly claſſical. No greater proof can e given of his zeal to promote arts and ſciences, han his introducing the art of printing into his ominions. It had been known in England ever ince the year 1471, though Scotland was ignorant f it till 1509, when the firſt book there printed as a Breviary of the church of Aberdeen.

In thoſe days every nobleman, for the benefit of is family and dependants, ſtudied ſurgery; and ames, who was himſelf an adept in that uſeful rt, ordained pupils of leſs quality, who before his eath were eſtabliſhed at Edinburg, into a regular ociety. There can be no doubt, that a king of is abilities, thus excellently diſpoſed, was ex-remely regretted by his ſubjects. Buchanan ſays, hat he died in good time; ſince his munificence ad ſo drained his exchequer, that, had he lived lon-ger, he muſt have impoſed ſuch taxes, in order to aiſe money, as, in all probability, would have lackened his fame, and ſullied his memory. What-ver truth there may have been in this ſuggeſtion, t is very certain, that Scotland, while an indepen-dent kingdom, was, during his reign, at the zenith of her glory.

CHURCH.

The eccleſiaſtical affairs of this century are not very material: It may be obſerved, in general, that as James the 3d, by his indiſcreet promotions, created much diſturbance; ſo the clergy, in conſequence, from being remarkable for mutual agreement and ſobriety, grew factious and encroaching; ſo that the reformation, which, towards the cloſe of this century, began to be projected, appears, if conſidered only in a political view, to have been abſolutely neceſſary.

The three univerſities of St. Andrews, Glaſgow, and Aberdeen, were founded in this century: the firſt in 1412; the ſecond in 1457; the laſt in 1493: and the tutors,--ſo great was their zeal for the propagation of ſcience,--attended their reſpective claſſes many years gratis.

JAMES V.

THE late king, before he under-
1513. took his ill-adviſed expedition, had bequeathed the regency of the kingdom, during the non-age of his ſon, (an infant of a year old) to his queen. The important office, however, was to be taken from her on a re-marriage; and, as this was the condition of her authority, it was univerſally believed that ſhe would remain a widow. But, in a very ſhort time, ambition had no charms, nor the intereſt and peace of the realm any weight with that youthful queen, whoſe every thought ſoon centered in a paſſion for the earl of Angus. This accompliſhed young nobleman was chief of the houſe of Douglas, and next to lord Hume, the moſt powerful of any that had ſurvived the battle of Flodden. The affection between him and the queen was mutual; and love, though

though he ſeldom exerts his power in a royal breaſt, was ſo impetuous, that, within the ſpace of a year, the regency was forfeited. The queen married the earl without making her intention known, either to the ſtates of the kingdom, or to her brother Henry, who had ſhewn great tenderneſs towards her; having, inſtead of purſuing the advantage which the defeat of Flodden had given him over the Scots, generouſly recalled his troops.

This haſty marriage put every thing into confuſion: one part of the nation was for continuing the queen; but lord Hume, who hated the Douglaſes, finding likewiſe, that he had not intereſt ſufficient to procure the office for himſelf, determined to exert all that he had in favour of the duke of Albany; who, chiefly through his means, was accordingly elected regent. Albany was the ſon of that duke, who was brother to James the 3d. and had taken ſhelter in France, after his defeat at Lochmaben. The circumſtance of his being a Frenchman was favourable to his election; but far from being ſo to the intereſt of Scotland; and he landed at Dumbarton, on the 18th of May, 1515, with the moſt ſuperficial knowledge of her language and conſtitution.

The duke was a man of ſenſe: and that he might err as little as poſſible in his regency, through ignorance, he pitched upon Hepburn, prior of St. Andrews, for his inſtructor. The prior, though an able politician, was jealous and revengeful: in giving Albany the neceſſary information, he was alſo too crafty to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity of maliciouſly mingling his perſonal reſentments. As Hume, the lord chamberlain, had diſguſted him, he therefore in the characters, which he gave the duke, of the principal men in the realm, drew a moſt odious picture of that nobleman; nor did he exhibit a flattering portrait of Angus. Thus prepoſſeſſed, the regent behaved with

with uncommon reſerve to theſe noblemen; whoſe favour and intereſt ought rather to have been courted by a conduct diametrically oppoſite. Such an impolitic demeanour could not but excite ſurmiſes. Should the king's brother die, Albany was preſumptive heir; it was therefore intimated to the queen, that ſhe would do well to fly with her two babes to England; and by putting them under her brother's protection, be aſſured of their ſafety. This advice, to one who mortally hated the regent, was extremely agreeable; and ſhe accordingly prepared for her flight. She was not, however, ſo ſecret in her preparations, but that her intention was diſcovered. In conſequence of which, the infants were taken from her, at the ſame time, that, to ſilence malevolent inſinuations, they were delivered to the care of three noblemen, who were deſervedly beloved by the public. The queen, thus diveſted of her children, was then informed that ſhe might proſecute her journey; and the regent was beforehand with her, in acquainting Henry with his conduct, which he fully juſtified.

Henry, though he admitted his reaſons, was, on many accounts, averſe to his regency; it is therefore thought, that he ſecretly ſtimulated the earl of Hume, who, finding himſelf to be ſuſpected, had taken arms, and was ravaging the borders.

The king's brother dying in January 1516, Henry began really to be alarmed: he ſent miniſters to Scotland with offers of a laſting peace, on condition that the regent was removed; but though that condition was not complied with, he thought it prudent to conclude a truce with the ſtates of the kingdom, to the feaſt of St. Andrew, in 1520.

Hume, who now became ſenſible that the regent acted with integrity, diſbanded his forces, and was received into favour. But Hepburn devoted to deſtruction both him and his brother William, whom he repreſented to the regent as planning ſchemes againſt

gainſt his government, and the nation's peace. Theſe could not be proved, but as the regent dreaded their power, he was eaſily led to gratify the prior's vengeance, and perhaps his own deſire, by bringing againſt them a charge more feaſible. The Humes were therefore cited for the murther of the late king, for non-performance of their duty at Flodden, and for unnatural crimes with each other. Though the firſt as well as the laſt article of the charge was unſupported by ſufficient evidence, yet, as they were not able to acquit themſelves of the other, to the ſatisfaction of the court, they were condemned to die, and the ſentence of beheading was accordingly executed on the 12th of October. Hume was warden of the Marches, as well as lord chamberlain; the former, which was the moſt conſiderable poſt in the kingdom, the regent conferred on his intimate friend ſir Andrew D'Arcy, a Frenchman, commonly called the chevalier de la Beauté. And the duke having thus ſettled every thing to his ſatisfaction, he left his power chiefly in the hands of D'Arcy, and determined to retire for about ſix months, into France.

The Scots now no longer contained their reſentment: they in general diſapproved of the ſentence inflicted on the Humes; they were exaſperated againſt D'Arcy; and the preſence of the queen, who had left England before the regent had arrived in France, rendered them, to the laſt degree, vindictive.

A party, conducted by ſir George Douglaſs, and ſir David Hume, on the 20th of September, waylaid La Beauté. His attendants being all cut off, he attempted to make his eſcape: unfortunately for him, his horſe plunged into a bog, which leaving him the prey of his enemies, they greedily tore him in pieces. Douglaſs, with a ſavage fury, ſeized his head, and fixing it by 1517.

by the hair to his ſaddle-brow, rode in triumph to Dunbar, and there ſtuck it on the battlements.

Though the ſtates did not chuſe to defend this action, they took very little cognizance of it. In order to keep well with the French, a ſhew of proſecution was entered againſt Hume and Douglaſs; and that they might likewiſe remain independent of the Engliſh, the poſt, which D'Arcy had held, was given to the earl of Arran. On the other hand, this preference diſpleaſed the earl of Angus; though as he only murmured his uneaſineſs, the peace of the kingdom was not diſturbed till the year 1520; when Angus, ſtimulated (as it is generally thought) by the Engliſh, aſſembled his military tenants, and profeſſed open enmity to Arran. Both parties were ſtrong and violent; and their diſputes became at laſt ſo general, that the whole nation was in danger of being engaged either on the one ſide or the other.

Theſe commotions rendered the regent's preſence indiſpenſibly neceſſary: it would have been convenient much ſooner, but the intrigues of Henry, or rather of his artful miniſter Wolſey, had been ſufficiently powerful to keep him in France. On the 19th of November, 1521, however, he arrived in Scotland, which he found the ſeat of confuſion. Summoning a parliament, on the 26th of January following, he was determined to be ſevere on the earl of Angus; though, on the regent's arrival, he had diſbanded his forces, and was diſpoſed for peace. He made diligent ſearch after the murtherers of his friend D'Arcy, but they had taken ſanctuary in England. And though he conſidered Angus in a great meaſure acceſſary; yet he could not obtain a greater puniſhment for that nobleman than a year's baniſhment into France.

As a ſentence like this was no way diſagreeable to Angus, he rather choſe to comply with it, than be the occaſion of farther diſorder. The queen's violent

violent paſſion for him had long ſince not only evaporated, but he had now become ſo much the object of her hatred, that ſhe was purſuing every method to procure herſelf a divorce. She had even applied to the regent for aſſiſtance in this reſpect; and this circumſtance, with many additions, having been carried to the ears of her brother Henry, that monarch grew more and more exaſperated againſt the regent, whom he now conſidered as having alienated her from his intereſt, and inveigled into his own.

Francis king of France, it ſeems, had promiſed Henry that the regent ſhould never return to Scotland; and the king of England therefore made a breach of this promiſe, one reaſon for a war againſt Francis; which having been agitated by Wolſey, he was now obliged to proſecute. Abſtracted from their attachment to Albany, Henry had no antipathy to the Scots; his nephew was exceedingly dear to him; but as he ſaw the regent now acting altogether like a vice-roy of France, inſtead of what he ought to have been, The protector of an independant people,--He let the Scots know that they muſt either remove him, or expoſe themſelves to his reſentment. The Scots vindicated the actions of their regent, and conſidered this demand of Henry as an attack on their liberty; at a time, when, in fact, they were little better than the tools of France. They peremptorily refuſed to diſmiſs the duke; and let Henry know, that though hoſtilities were far from agreeable to them, they could defend themſelves whenever he choſe to attack them.

Immediately on the diſmiſſion of the Engliſh ambaſſadors, the regent went over to France; where he made the king acquainted with the ſentiments and reſolution of the Scotch parliament; and as Francis did not queſtion but that Henry would make good his threats, the regent was diſpatched back again with

with about 4000 troops (which were all that Francis could then ſpare) and with particular injunctions, not to make peace with England, without his concurrence. Henry had received notice of the regent's voyage; and believing that he ſhould be able to prevent his return, he had agreed to a year's truce with the Scots. But though Henry made uſe of every ſtratagem to intercept the regent, he landed in Scotland, with his troops, in Auguſt 1523. On his arrival at Edinburg, he found the nobility extremely factious; and the queen at the head of a ſtrong party in favour of the Engliſh. The truce being nearly expired, he ſummoned a parliament to debate on the neceſſary meaſures to be taken with Henry; whoſe generoſity of ſpirit had even led him, not only to offer a laſting peace with the Scots; but, at the ſame time, to propoſe a treaty of marriage between their king and his eldeſt daughter. If the reader is captivated with Henry's generoſity, in making ſuch a propoſition to the Scots, in what light muſt he conſider the regent, who prevailed with them to reject it! Such an alliance was not agreeable, it ſeems, to Francis; as Albany, therefore, was his vice-roy, he made uſe of the moſt powerful arguments againſt it; and as he was too good a ſtateſman not to know that gold would prove his beſt logic, bribery, with its torrent of eloquence, bore down every oppoſition.

The Scots having thus refuſed an alliance, which would have made their king the undoubted heir of the Engliſh crown, the regent naturally enough concluded, that he ſhould find no difficulty in perſuading them to invade England. But here he was miſtaken; for though he led them to the borders, though he repreſented the Engliſh as their very worſt enemies, though he ſtormed and ſoothed, flattered and bribed, they flatly refuſed to croſs the Tweed. The fatal field of Flodden, which gave the ſevereſt blow that the feudal ſyſtem ever felt, had

d not yet been forgotten by them; and they knew at the earl of Surry, at the head of 40,000 men, s prepared for their reception, if they had adnced far into England. Henry had ordered the rl not to attack the Scots; and the regent was der the mortifying neceſſity of leading his troops ck again.

During the winter, the queen's party, by the rtifice of Wolſey, had ſo far increaſed, that the gent had, in great meaſure, loſt his influence. was publickly declared, that the king was now f an age fit to take the reins of government into his wn hands; and Albany, in all probability, now egan to conſider, that when that event took place, is majeſty might requite him after the manner of is predeceſſor. He determined therefore to take are of himſelf in time; and though he was too uch of a Frenchman formally to abdicate his regency, he ſet ſail for France, on the 14th of May, 524, with a reſolution never to return to Scotland; and, perhaps, it had been happy for that nation, had he made ſuch a reſolve much ſooner, or rather had ſhe never known his government.

Henry, on this agreeable news, ſent the earl of Angus (whom he had before invited from his exile) into Scotland; in order to ſtrengthen the Engliſh intereſt, by a reconciliation with his wife. But he found the queen's hatred too deeply rooted; and as ſhe had connected herſelf, in politics, with the earl of Arran, Angus found that he was excluded from any ſhare in the adminiſtration. As Angus well knew that Henry ſuſpected Arran to be in the French intereſt, he made no ſcruple to form a party againſt him; and he was ſoon joined by the earls of Lenox and Argyle. The queen, in the mean time, as well to prevent her brother's receiving any impreſſions to her diſadvantage, as to manifeſt the integrity of the earl of Arran; ſent the earl of Caſſils to deſire a laſting peace with him, to-

together with an alliance agreeable to his former proposal. But Henry, on the Scots refusal, had promised his daughter to the emperor Charles the 5th of Germany; however, that he might have time to consider on the part which he should act, he concluded a truce with Scotland for three years.

Before the expiration of this truce, the earl of Angus had found means to alienate the young king from his mother, and to gain his intire confidence. As for the queen, she had obtained a divorce from her husband, and was now his bitterest enemy; but as the king, her son, had created him his chancellor, he was above her reach. It appears, however, that Angus very soon grew intoxicated with power, and not only committed the greatest excesses himself, but connived at them in others. He had inticed the king to Falkland, where, though he treated him with all imaginable respect, though he promoted every exercise and pleasure by day, and pandered for him by night, the young monarch, surrounded, as he was, by flattery and dissipation, rightly considered himself as little better than his prisoner. It is more than probable likewise, that he had become acquainted with the earl's misuse of power; and this consideration might have been a farther incitement to his escape from Falkland to his mother at Stirling, which he therefore effected in June 1527, during the absence of Angus, and in the habit of a groom; for which some have ridiculously taxed him with meanness.

The king's arrival at Stirling was no sooner known, than numbers of the nobility, who hated Angus, repaired to that castle, to assist his majesty, in case a fresh attempt should be made to retake his person. Their zeal and foresight was timely: for Angus, immediately, on receiving news of the king's flight, assembled 2000 troops, and was marching, with all haste, towards Stirling. But the lords Maxwell and Lochinvar, with the like

number

mber of men, had taken poſſeſſion of the town, behalf of their ſovereign; and upon the approach the earl, they repulſed him with the greateſt re- ution and loyalty. The king then, by the ad- ce of his nobles, indicted the earl of Angus, his other George Douglas, his uncle Archibald Dou- ſs, and Alexander Drummond, together with me of their chief dependents, for treaſon. The uglaſes, unable to ſtand their ground, retired o England for refuge. As the king was in poſ- ſion of their eſtates, he winked at their obtain- g an aſylum in England; and the truce being now pired, he concluded another with his uncle for e years, in which time both parties were to con- er on a laſting peace.

During this truce, the king aſſembled 8000 forces, d proceeded to the ſkirts of his kingdom, that he ight puniſh the licentious borderers: of theſe, the oſt daring ſeems to have been one John Arm- ong of Gilnock-Hall. This fellow, who had a mber of vaſſals under his command, lived in the eateſt ſtate and affluence, by levying contribu- ns on the Engliſh. The king ordered him to pear by ſuch a day, and anſwer for his conduct. rmſtrong thinking that the king would rather ap- ve than condemn him; and proud at the ſame me, to diſplay his magnificence, he appeared be- re his ſovereign attended by 26 gentlemen on rſeback, richly capariſoned, as his body-guard. mes, aſtoniſhed at his inſolence, let him know at he had preſumed to exerciſe a power, which longed only to majeſty, and then ordered him to hung up on the ſpot. Having ſtrengthened his thority by a few more examples, he left the bor- rs of his kingdom ſomewhat civilized; and re- rning to Edinburg, he diſmiſſed his forces.

The king, from this time, grew pro- gioufly attached to his clergy; and re- 1532. embering how he had been uſed by

Angus,

Angus, and conſidering the reſt of his nobility, having the ſame will, if ever they ſhould have the ſame power; he employed his prelates to aſſiſt him in a ſcheme which he had formed, of becoming independent of his nobles. The clergy, it muſt be obſerved, were dependent on him; for every king of Scotland had the ſole right of nomination to vacant biſhopricks and abbeys; and therefore he was pretty certain that they would heartily concur in his deſign. They would be of the greateſt ſervice to him he well knew; for beſides their private influence, they were reckoned (as has been obſerved) one of the three eſtates of parliament; and as they regularly returned members, they often occaſioned a majority. Cardinal Beatoun, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, was ſelected from among them, to be his boſom friend; he was a man of genius, and rewarded the king's confidence by the moſt important ſervices.

The king then proceeded to repair his fortifications, and to furniſh his magazines. And thinking it now no longer neceſſary to diſſemble his intentions, he firſt treated his nobles with apparent coldneſs; removed them ſoon after, by degrees, from places of profit and truſt; and then, effectually to mortify them, the vacant poſts were beſtowed on eccleſiaſtics. Though the nobility ſaw full well the tendency of the king's ſchemes; though they burned with reſentment at receiving a treatment which they conſidered as ungrateful, and therefore the more cruel; yet the vigilant Beatoun prevented any from being bold enough to head a conſpiracy. They bore the king's frowns, however, with great impatience; and though they were obliged to admit, at that time, to his encroachments, they determined to embrace the firſt opportunity of aſſerting their privileges.

1535. The king's attachment to his clergy at this juncture, was extremely unfortunate. His uncle, who, for well-known reaſo

ſons, had diſclaimed the pope's authority, de-
ed an interview with James at York. He had
the 11th of May, in the foregoing year, con-
ded a peace between England and Scotland,
ring the lives of their reſpective ſovereigns; and
a year after the deceaſe of him who ſhould go
ſt; and the emperor of Germany, the king of
ance, the king of the Romans, and the duke of
uelders were comprehended as allies. Now though
mes was deſirous of an intimate connection with
enry, and therefore had no objection to the pro-
ſed interview: he yet determined to be governed
his clergy: and as they loudly inveighed againſt
enry, as an arch heretic, againſt whom the pope
d publiſhed five ſeparate bulls; as they declared
at their king could not be ſafely truſted in his
nds, and made uſe of every argument that malice
uld invent, in order to blacken the character of
enry; and exhauſted all their rhetoric, to diſ-
ade him from going, James, who was a bigotted
tholic, approved their zeal, and declined the in-
rview.

The evil genius of Scotland moſt certainly pre-
ed in this aſſembly; for Henry had ſo managed
tters with the emperor, that he ſtill had it in his
wer to give his daughter Mary to James; he of-
ed her, or the princeſs Elizabeth, to him, and
e reaſon of his deſiring a meeting with his ne-
ew, was to confer with him concerning the re-
rmation; and to ſettle matters relative to his ſuc-
eding him. James, however, not to ſhock Henry
a blunt denial, pretended that the pope had for-
dden him to ſet a foot in England; and his holi-
ſs ſoon after really ſent him a brief to that
ect.

The clergy, in raptures, at having carried their
int, next adviſed the king to marry a princeſs of
rance: and the yielding monarch, now eaſily to
perſuaded to any thing, complied with their ad-

vice; though the emperor Charles had offered him the choice of two princeſſes of his own houſe, of exquiſite beauty and prodigious fortune. But the emperor was conſidered as a favourer of the reformation. Francis having offered James the choice of either of his daughters, James determined to take a voyage to France, in order to eſpouſe the moſt agreeable; which, in his eyes, proved to be Magdalen the eldeſt daughter, and their nuptials were accordingly celebrated there in great pomp on the 7th of January, 1537.

Her fortune was 100,000 crowns of the ſun, and her jointure adequate to that ſum. The king of France likewiſe agreed to pay James 30,000 francs during his life. But this was but a trifling addition to her fortune; for the young queen fell ill of a fever, ſhortly after her arrival in Scotland, and died on the 22d of July.

The death of the queen was ſucceeded by two very remarkable trials. The clergy, not contented with having driven the nobility from court, which was doubtleſs as far as the king's vengeance against them extended; they followed them in their retirements, and ſtrove to draw from the elder barons ſuch words as they might be able to conſtrue into treaſon. As age is cautious, the old nobles avoided the ſnare, but John Forbes, the chief of a great family, being a young man, and therefore leſs cool and reſerved, fell into it.

Forbes was accordingly accuſed of forming a deſign to murder the king, and to reſtore the earl of Angus to his eſtates, and though the whole proof of this charge centered in a few incautious words, they were deemed ſufficient evidences to bring him to the block. Forbes was no ſooner executed, than it was whiſpered to the king, that certainly the lady Jane Douglas (who was ſiſter to the earl of Angus, and the only one of his family then in Scotland) muſt certainly have been privy to the deſign of

Forbes;

orbes; and as ſhe did not diſcover it, ought con-
quently to be conſidered as his accomplice. She
as therefore forthwith apprehended; and though
e was known to be a woman of exemplary virtue,
acquainted with courts, and almoſt ignorant of
e name of faction; though not the fainteſt ſha-
w of a proof could be diſcovered, ſhe was ſen-
nced to death by her arbitrary judges (who now
et rather to condemn than to try) and the king,
ho might have pardoned her, had he choſen it,
ought proper, rather to gratify an unmanly re-
nge, againſt a relation to the earl of Angus, and
cordingly ordered her, under the pretence alſo of
ing guilty of witchcraft, to be burned alive.

Soon after theſe executions, which are moſt in-
lible blots in this reign, the king ſet on foot a
gotiation for a marriage with Mary of Guiſe,
tcheſs dowager of Longueville; and though
enry ſtrove to hinder this marriage, it was, con-
uded on; and Mary landed in Scotland in the
ring of the year, 1538. Hiſtorians have men-
ned many odes and orations to have been com-
ſed on this marriage; one of the latter, which
as ſpoken before the queen, concluded with theſe
ords, "O queen, ſerve God, obey your huſband,
d keep your body clean, according to God's moſt
ly will and commandments."

Though the king of England had been much
ovoked by his nephew's conduct, yet he was un-
illing to break with him. And though the death
the queen-mother (which happened ſoon after
r ſon's marriage) muſt have weakened his attach-
ent, he was ſtill averſe to hoſtilities; and accord-
gly, in January 1540, appointed ſir Ralph Sad-
r to be his ambaſſador at the court of Scotland.
adler was charged with private diſpatches to James,
hiefly concerning the reformation; and Henry
ged him, a ſecond time, to give him an inter-
ew, notwithſtanding the interdict of the pope,
which

which he ridiculed, and would fain have persua
his nephew also to despise. He wished eagerly t
his nephew would imitate him, by seizing the
venues of all the abbies within his dominions; a
he told him so. James, who afterwards produc
these dispatches in public, declared, that he co
not, in conscience, prevail on himself to com
such a sacrilegious action. But this was, inde
a laughable reason for the Scotch king to gi
who had already bestowed on five of his natu
children the abbies of Kelso, Coldingham, M
ross, Holyrood-House, and St. Andrews; the
venues of which, (and they nearly equalled th
of the crown) he poured into his exchequer,
they should become of age to possess them.

In regard to the interview, James, who had r
son to expect that his uncle would quarrel with h
should he again refuse it, thought fit, with the
vice of Beatoun, to temporise. Sadler was the
fore ordered to return such an answer to his mas
as led Henry to conclude, that James would g
him the meeting, which he so much desired;
Henry entertained so good an opinion of his o
abilities, that he did not doubt, if he could
obtain an interview with his nephew, he sho
soon be able to free him from the superstition
popery, and reason him into a reformation.

Henry accordingly went to Yo
1541. where he fully expected to have
his nephew; who, instead of appe
ing there, transmitted such paultry excuses, t
the king of England saw plainly, that James
not intend to meet him at all. And as he
heartily despised him, he sent such a messag
him from York, as cardinal Beatoun construed in
declaration of war; and it is certain, that it was
tended by some skirmishes on the borders. Hen
indeed, was not of a temper to digest such an affro
the more he reviewed the behaviour of James,
m

ore was he exaſperated; ſo that in the year fol-
wing he threatened Scotland with an invaſion.
It was now that James perceived he had been
rong in ſo violently oppreſſing his nobility.
e found, that notwithſtanding his clergy had of-
red to contribute all their revenues, if the king
ould need it, in ſupport of a war with England;
et his nobility, and they only, muſt fight his bat-
es, and do him the moſt eſſential ſervices. But
e Scotch nobility acted, on this occaſion, with the
reateſt patriotiſm and generoſity. Immediately on
is command, they aſſembled their friends; but the
uke of Norfolk, whom Henry had ſent into
cotland, with 20,000 (ſome ſay 40,000) men,
aving proceeded no farther than York, James
ropoſed to his nobility to be before-hand with him,
nd invade England. The nobles would by no
eans cloſe with this propoſal; for though they de-
lared, that they would defend their country, from
e invaſions of Henry, or againſt any other poten-
te; yet they would not be inſtrumental in widen-
g a breach with the king of England, with whom,
ey told his majeſty, it was the intereſt of Scot-
nd to preſerve peace. The king was in the moſt
alling ſituation on their refuſal. He ſaw that his
obles had recovered, and were ſenſible of their im-
ortance; and he was obliged to repreſs his rage,
eing apprehenſive that they might exerciſe an au-
ority, ſimilar to that which they had done in
e time of his grandfather. And indeed, ſome
iſtorians report, that they had actually reſolved
o hang up ſuch of the king's favourites as had
een moſt inveterate againſt them, but that delay-
g too long to execute their ſcheme, by debating
n whom they ſhould ſacrifice, the king, by diſ-
anding their troops, fruſtrated their deſign. Scot-
nd was in no danger by the army's being thus
iſbanded; for the Engliſh general, we are told,
ad found it impracticable, on many accounts, to

profecute his invaſion; ſo that he retired ſtill fa
ther towards London.

James, however, was firmly bent to in
1542. vade England; and Beatoun undertoo
to cajole the nobles into concurrenc
Some, and chiefly lord Maxwell, unwilling t
exaſperate the king ſtill more againſt them, agree
though it was then November, to enter England
by the *Solway*, with 10,000 men.

James, highly pleaſed with this intelligence
took the fatal reſolution of conſtituting Oliver Sin
clair, a minion of his, commander in chief in tha
expedition. Oliver kept his commiſſion a ſecre
till the Scotch troops had paſſed the borders, an
advanced to the firth of Solway, where ſir Thoma
Wharton had haſtily collected about 500 men
which he had poſted advantageouſly, and wit
which he intended to oppoſe their progreſs. Sin
clair then read his commiſſion, which (ſays a
elegant hiſtorian) produced an effect not to be paral
lel'd in hiſtory. Their contempt of the general
and hatred of the king, over-coming the fear o
death and the love of liberty, the whole 10,000 men
on the example of the nobles, ſubmitted to
number ſo very inferior, without ſtriking a ſingl
blow.

When James was made acquainted with thi
aſtoniſhing circumſtance, he ſunk to the groun
with indignation and grief. He had been anxiou
about the event of the expedition, and therefo
the news muſt have been more ſhocking to him
and as he had violent paſſions, he fell a prey t
them; for he languiſhed in the moſt deplorable con
dition till the 13th of December, and then ex
pired. Though ſome are of opinion that he wa
poiſoned.

James, who thus died in the 30th year of his age
was of the middle ſize, fair and comely: he was un
queſtionably brave, vigilant and temperate; but Bu
chana

chanan (who knew him perſonally) ſays, that whatever virtues he might have, they were more than equalled by vices. A few days before his death, being informed, that his queen was delivered of a daughter, "It will end as it began, (ſays he) the crown came by a woman, and it will go by one; many miſeries approach this poor kingdom; king Henry will either maſter it by arms, or win it by marriage."

The court of ſeſſions was founded in this reign, on the 7th of May, 1532.

MARY.

GRIEF and reſentment had ſo wholly taken poſſeſſion of the ſoul of James, that though he muſt have been ſenſible that his end was approaching, he had taken no one ſtep towards ſettling a regency during the long minority of his daughter, who, at his death, was but eight days old; or (as ſome ſay but ſeven) for the court of Scotland was ſo irregular, when this unfortunate princeſs came into the world, that hiſtorians are not agreed as to the preciſe day of her birth. But though the king had neglected this great point, the boundleſs ambition of cardinal Beatoun inſtigated him to frame a will, by which, he himſelf having been prime miniſter in the late reign, now claimed the regency. His forgery being ſpeedily detected, the iniquitous and aſpiring prelate was tumbled from his towering height, and the important office of regent conferred on James Hamilton, earl of Arran, who, though not a man of the greateſt abilities, was preſumptive heir to the crown. 1542.

The choice of this nobleman was in many reſpects unhappy: he was by nature timid; and this natural failing was productive of the greateſt inſtability in his management of affairs, at a time when wars with England, factions at home, and, above

all, the dawning reformation, required a conduct the moſt ſteady and reſolute. No wonder therefore that the regent ſoon expoſed himſelf to the artifice of ſo ſubtle a ſtateſman as Beatoun, who, after a few weeks impriſonment, was allowed to return to his caſtle of St. Andrews, notwithſtanding that, by forging a will for the late king, the laws of his country would have convicted him of high treaſon. But inſtead of this, the intriguing cardinal very ſoon held the maſter-wire, whilſt Arran, having the name of regent, was anſwerable for conſequences. Beatoun's influence appeared in the firſt public tranſaction with England.

Henry the 8th, whatever his deſigns were, had generouſly diſmiſſed all the noble captives, who had ſubmitted themſelves at Solway; they returned to Edinburgh in the middle of January, charged with a propoſal of peace; and then of uniting the two kingdoms by a marriage of his ſon Edward with their infant queen. This propoſal was ſtrongly ſeconded by the earl of Angus (who had now returned from his exile) and much urged by ſir Ralph Sadler, the Engliſh ambaſſadour, who expatiated ſo largely on the happy effects, which ſuch an union would produce, that the regent ſeemed exceedingly deſirous of it. The earl was then an avowed friend to the reformation; and as he knew that an alliance like this, would greatly promote it, the treaty was accordingly concluded on, and the young queen, when ſhe ſhould attain her 10th year, was to be ſent into England.---Henry, in the mean time, promiſing to preſerve inviolable peace with Scotland, and not to interfere in the government.

Beatoun ſaw this treaty ratified without any diſguſt: For though he mortally hated the king of England, and in every reſpect diſliked the alliance, he knew that it would be no difficult matter to perſuade, or intimidate the regent to renounce Henry's friendſhip, and declare for the intereſt of France.

H

He purſued his meaſures accordingly; and with ſuch ſucceſs, that the weak and irreſolute Arran, within the ſpace of a month, was cajoled--not only to break the treaty--but to abjure the doctrines of the reformation in the Franciſcan church at Stirling. The regent now gave himſelf up wholly to the cardinal, and to the queen-mother, who eſpouſed popery with all that fiery zeal, which bigotry can inſpire. They had obtained an act, for the proſecution of heretics, and they began to butcher with the moſt unremitting cruelty. This occaſioned a ſtrong diviſion in favour of Henry and the reformation, which was headed by the earls of Angus and Lenox, who engaged the cardinal's party, but were defeated, and obliged to take refuge in England.

By this time, Henry was ſo exaſperated at the treatment which he had received, 1544. that he determined the Scots ſhould feel the weight of his reſentment. Accordingly, on the 3d of May, a conſiderable body of troops landed at Leith; and the Scots, believing that Henry had full employment for all his troops in France, being unprepared to oppoſe their progreſs, they entered Edinburg with great eaſe, and ravaged all the country round in a moſt terrible manner.

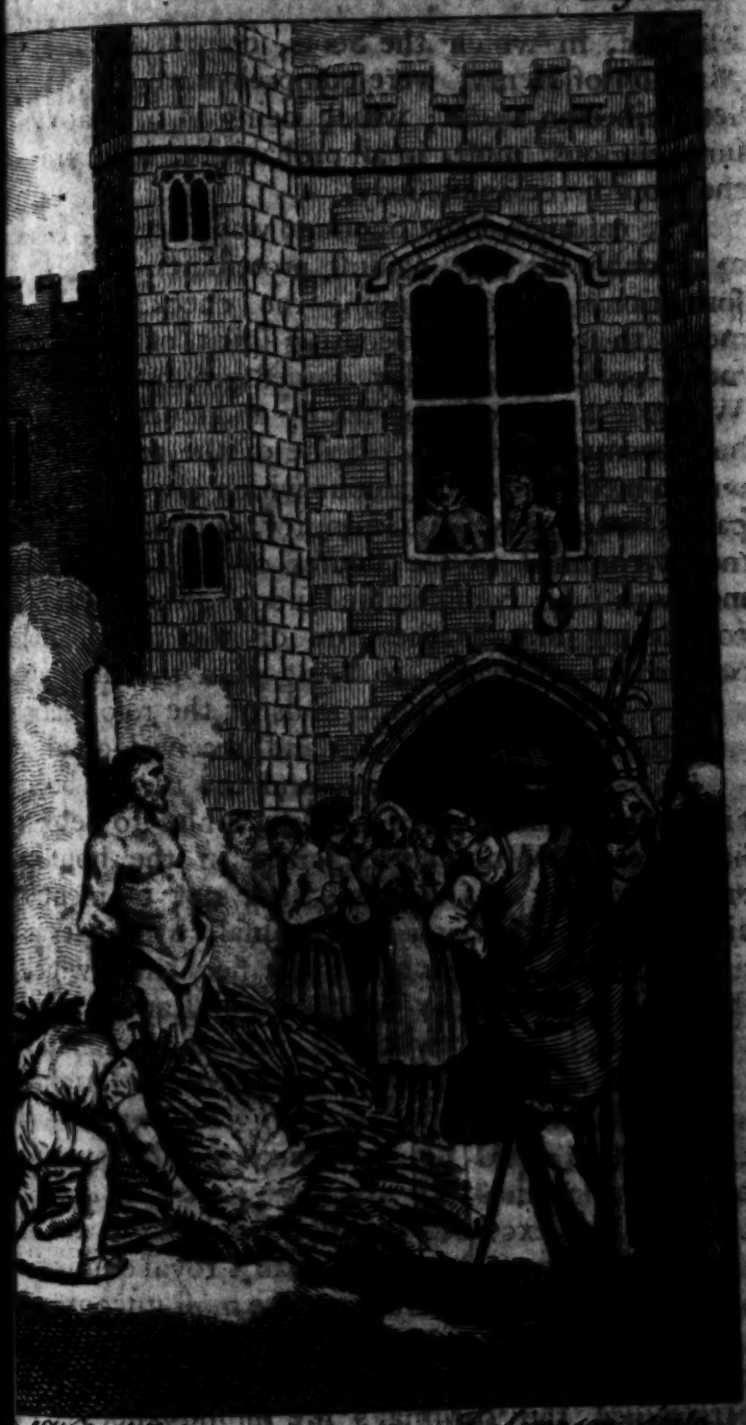
The cardinal took advantage of this impolitic invaſion. He employed every art to wean the Scots from the Engliſh. He taught them to believe that Henry was the vileſt of encroachers, who by thus enforcing his hated alliance, and eſpouſing the cauſe of heretics, was ſtriking at the very root of their liberties. In ſhort, he ſo ſucceſsfully applied himſelf to the paſſions and prejudices of a tenacious and raſcible people, that in general, the alliance with Henry,--a wretch whom the pope had excommunicated,---was thought on with abhorrence. And had not Francis the 1ſt concluded a peace with

England, in which the Scots, contrary to the inclination of Henry, were comprehended, they were determined on a war; which being in a great measure religious, muſt, in all probability, have proved the more fierce and bloody.

The cardinal, now Scotland was at peace, began to redouble his rage againſt proteſtants. The reformation, notwithſtanding the checks which it met with from the perſecuting ſpirit of that infamous prelate, every day gained ground. George Wiſhart, a man of good family and ſound learning, had recommended the doctrine of the reformation, with a meekneſs and candour which always accompanies true piety: his miniſtry, which had been moſtly confined to the houſes of his friends, had met with ſuch conſiderable ſucceſs, that Beatoun, conſidering him as the prop of the reformation, reſolved at all events to bring him to the ſtake.

And though the ſeeds of the reformation
1546. had now in Scotland received a parliamentary ſanction, and the regent before his apoſtacy had allowed Engliſh bibles to be publickly read, Wiſhart was ſeized in the houſe of one Cockburn of Ormiſter; and, not to mention diſagreeable particulars, the cardinal, by his legantine authority, brought him to the fiery trial; which, though aggravated by every circumſtance, which bigotry and barbarity could inſpire, he endured on the 1ſt of March with a primitive reſolution.

Beatoun beheld the execution from his caſtle of St. Andrews; and he now conſidered hereſy to be nearly extinguiſhed. He therefore gave a looſe to his paſſions, and exceeded the moſt profligate of men in the indulgence of them. He had a royal equipage; and behaved every where with the moſt uncontroulable inſolence: But he one day ſo groſly inſulted Norman Leſley, ſon of the earl of Rothes, that he determined the cardinal's life ſhould appeaſe his reſent-



L. Wale delin. T. Simpson sculp.

ſentment. Accordingly Leſley, with fifteen of is friends, gaining admittance into his caſtle, af- r turning out his domeſtics, one by one, they rced the door of his chamber, and found him ſit- ng in a chair. Three or four of the conſpirators ere about to ruſh precipitately on their victim, but eing reproached by Leſley for ſuch a neglect of ecorum, he very gravely addreſſed himſelf to the ardinal, recapitulating his cruelties, and adviſed im inſtantly to implore divine forgiveneſs. He en with the greateſt deliberation gave him two abs in the body; and the reſt following his exam- le, the wretched prelate fell a ſpeedy ſacrifice, ex- laiming, with his lateſt breath--'I am a prieſt.'-- fter they had executed their purpoſe, finding that heir intention had taken air, they admitted up- ards of 100 more of their friends into the caſtle, hich was now preſently ſurrounded by a number f troops, who were ſent by the clergy to reſcue heir cardinal. The conſpirators let them know hat they had come too late; and to convince them f it, they threw the lifeleſs trunk amongſt them, ut of the very window from which the cardinal, ut a very few weeks before, had triumphantly be- eld the tortures of the pious Wiſhart.

Thus was Scotland delivered,--though by means ot juſtifiable,---of the moſt powerful man in it; ho according to all report, was unhappily at the me time the moſt bigotted, the moſt wicked, nrelenting and cruel.

The conſpirators kept poſſeſſion of the caſtle for ve months. At laſt, they were beſieged in form, y a body of French troops, under the command of eon Strozzi; they then capitulated for life and mb, and as Strozzi deemed them his priſoners, ey were accordingly, together with the cardinal's mmenſe treaſures, tranſported into France.

The Engliſh ſaw this aſſiſtance from the French with a jealous eye: they conſidered it as an infringement of the peace; and Henry the 8th dying in the beginning of the year 1547, the commons of England impowered the regent duke of Somerſet to proceed with vigour againſt the Scots, and compel them to forſake the French; and if other means ſhould fail, to compel them likewiſe to fulfil the alliance with England, which the regent in parliament had ſo ſolemnly agreed upon. But though the cardinal's death had ſomewhat weakened the French intereſt, Mary of Guiſe, the queen-dowager, managed affairs too artfully even to let the Scots conſent to an union with England.

War therefore was mutually reſolved on; and in the beginning of September, the duke of Somerſet entered Scotland at the head of 18,000 men, whilſt a fleet of 60 ſail of ſhips appeared on the coaſt. The Scots had prepared themſelves for the duke's reception. But before matters came to an extremity, Somerſet, who in his march had behaved with the greateſt lenity, publiſhed a manifeſto, importing, "That nature had deſigned the two nations to be ſubject to one prince; that ſhe was aſſiſted by a ſimilarity between the inhabitants, in language, laws, and manners; and that Providence had now favoured ſuch an union; the Scotch crown devolving to a female, and that of England to a male, both of nearly the ſame age; and that if they were joined together in marriage, all former diſtinctions, jealouſies, and pretenſions, muſt ceaſe of courſe, and the whole iſland be happy." And after urging many other motives, equally ſenſible, he concluded by putting the Scots in mind, that the match had already been agreed on by parliament, and had the public faith of the nation. He did more: he ſent a private letter to the regent, offering time for mature conſideration, and promiſing immediately to with-

thdraw his army, on an aſſurance, that the queen ould not be diſpoſed of to any foreign prince. But the queen-dowager, and her party, prevailed ith the fickle regent, not ſimply to diſregard the ke's applications, but to treat his reaſonings with ntempt. On this, both parties prepared for bat-. The Engliſh were encamped at Preſton-pans, d the Scots at Muſſelburg. The protector Somerſet, d ſecured an eminence, which not only com-anded a communication with his fleet, but gave m the advantage of the wind and ſun. The Scots, nder all theſe diſadvantages were raſh enough to gin the attack: they aſſailed the Engliſh with an dent and irregular precipitancy, which was ſtill ightened by receiving in flank, a full fire from e fleet. The Scots, who were armed with bucklers, d pikes eighteen feet long, having a little re-vered their confuſion, moved in ſo firm a phalanx, at they actually diſperſed the Engliſh cavalry; t ſuch batteries of artillery were diſcharged on em from the ſhipping, and the foreign fuzileers, at they were obliged to give ground. The earl Angus, who had lately deſerted the Engliſh in-reſt, and now commanded the Scotch van-guard, deavoured to ſhelter his troops, in ſome meaſure, retiring towards the main body. But this mo-on being unhappily miſtaken for a flight, the whole my fell into a confuſion, which the Engliſh, uſhed with the proſpect of victory, ſoon rendered retrievable. An univerſal rout, a terrible car-age enſued. The Scots were purſued five hours; nd the three roads, by which they fled, were co-ered with pikes, bucklers, and dead bodies. This as called the *battle of Pinkey*, one of the moſt fatal hich the Scots had ever fought, and in which they ſt at leaſt 10,000 men. Two thouſand are ſaid the purſuit to have counterfeited death, and to ave thus eſcaped in the night; amongſt whom was

Angus; but the earl of Huntley, the lords Yeſter, Hamilton, and Wemys, were taken priſoners.

The next day the duke plundered Leith, and burnt Kinghorn. But this rough courtſhip, as the earl of Huntley humourouſly called it, ſet the Engliſh farther off than ever, either from an alliance with Scotland, or a reduction of it. For as ſoon as the duke, through a want of proviſion, was obliged to return to England with his forces, the queen-mother and D'Oyſſel, the French ambaſſador, intrigued ſo arfully with a parliament, which immediately was called, that the Scots ſued to the French king for aſſiſtance for themſelves, and protection for their young queen, who on receiving a favourable anſwer, accordingly embarked for France, attended by her natural-brother James, prior of St. Andrews, and by ſeveral nobles and gentlemen of diſtinction. And effectually to diſappoint the Engliſh, ſhe was ſhortly after ſolemnly betrothed to the Dauphin.

Six thouſand troops, under the com-
1548. mand of monſieur D'Eſſe, arriving from France, the Scots, in their turn, were reſolved to annoy the Engliſh, notwithſtanding that the duke of Somerſet, who ſaw that an alliance with Scotland was impracticable, had offered them a ten years truce on very moderate terms. They accordingly endeavoured to diſpoſſeſs the Engliſh of what garriſons they had in Scotland; but the French writers have too much boaſted of the ſervice which their countrymen did in this reſpect; it appears, that, at this time, they were unable to reduce Haddington, the ſiege of which place they carried on ſo bunglingly, that the aſſailants were often knocked down by women, with plummets fixed to ſtrings, which they held in their hands. On this occaſion, D'Eſſe grew ſo unpopular, that he deſired to be recalled; and monſieur Des Termes was nominated in his ſtead. Des Termes bringing

with

with him conſiderable ſupplies of money, men, and ammunition, on landing in Scotland, and being joined by his countrymen, found himſelf at the head of no deſpicable army. He laid cloſe ſiege to Haddington, which having no hopes of being relieved, capitulated. He next reduced Broughty caſtle, which on account of its ſituation, was far from a trifling acquiſition.

After this, ſkirmiſhes and trifling ſieges continued on both ſides, till the ſummer of the year 1550, when the queen-dowager made a viſit to her daughter in France. Here, having made the French king ſenſible of the ſtrength of his party in Scotland, and how hearty ſhe herſelf was in his intereſt, ſhe began to hint that ſhe ſhould be exceeding willing to ſupply the place of the regent; who, by his ſupineneſs and irreſolution, had loſt his popularity, and was little to be truſted. This was what that prince deſired; but, at the ſame time, he was willing that Arran, to ſave appearances, ſhould rather reſign, than be deprived of his office. To effect this, the French king was very liberal of his promiſes. The murmurings of the nobles, who, it was hinted, might very poſſibly call him to account, ſhould he continue much longer in his office, were ſtrongly urged. And as a public ratification of his conduct was then offered to him, the timorous and flexible Arran, during a ſevere illneſs of the archbiſhop of St. Andrews (who had always firmly ſupported his meaſures and oppoſed the dowager) agreed to abdicate his regency.

On the queen-dowager's return to Scotland, in 1554, ſhe accordingly took poſſeſſion of the government: ſhe ſoon teſtified the ſenſe, prudence, and reſolution, of which ſhe was miſtreſs, by taking a progreſs, in perſon, into the northern parts of the kingdom. The natives there, in conſequence of the factions at court, had recovered all their natural contempt

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of law and of equity. The queen, however, adopted ſuch vigorous meaſures, that without much bloodſhed, they were reduced to a ſtate of ſubjection; and reviving a former law, ſhe left every chieftain anſwerable for the good behaviour of his dependants. Returning to court, ſhe behaved with ſo much diſcretion, by ſeeming to diſregard all diſputes concerning forms of worſhip, that though a catholic herſelf, ſhe was innoxious both to papiſts and to proteſtants.

The queen's attachment to the French intereſt had thrown her into ſome errors in politics. She had elevated many of that nation to offices of truſt and dignity; and ſhe had ſo far forgotten herſelf, as to propoſe a ſmall, but a fixed tax on land, expreſly to maintain a body of regular troops for the French ſervice. Nothing could be more impolitic in the regent, or more ſhocking to the nobility. Accordingly, about 300 of the leſſer barons waited on the queen, and remonſtrated ſo ſenſibly, and ſo boldly againſt the tax, which they conſidered as a direct innovation upon their rights and privileges, that the queen, who ſoon ſaw her error, and knew the determined reſolution of the Scots, very prudently abandoned it.

The French, having failed in this ſcheme, were exceedingly ſollicitous of promoting a war with England. But as the Engliſh crown had now devolved on Mary, a princeſs whoſe only ambition was to fight for the church of Rome, and whoſe great delight was on that account to butcher the beſt of her own ſubjects;--the Scots having received no injury, were determined to offer none; and therefore flatly refuſed ſo far to humour the French, as to provoke a people, with whom they declared, that, "So long as they had no ſiniſter views on their independency, they were diſpoſed to live in peace." This conduct hurt the French, and

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ſhowed to the regent, who had propoſed the war, the bounds of her authority. Imagining, however, that her daughter's marriage with the dauphin would neceſſarily enlarge it, ſhe haſtened to conclude their nuptials.

The king of France, being equally deſirous to complete this affair, eight perſons, as repreſentatives of the whole Scottiſh nation, were immediately ordered to be preſent at the ceremony. They were the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the biſhop of Roſs, the biſhop of Orkney, the earls of Caſſils and Rothes, lord Fleming, lord Seaton, the prior of St. Andrews, and John Erſkine of Dun. And as ſome of the perſons, who were thus highly honoured, were zealous advocates for the reformation, it may ſerve to ſhew that the proteſtant intereſt had by this time gained very conſiderable influence.

In ratifying the marriage treaty, the French betrayed a ſpirit of deep deceit and artifice, which is as much characteriſtical of that people, as plain dealing and honour is of Britons. For as the Scots, in order to preſerve their liberty and independence, had inſiſted that the right of ſucceſſion, in default of iſſue, ſhould be ſecured to the houſe of Hamilton; though every article to this effect was ſeemingly ratified in the moſt ſolemn manner by the king of France, the young queen, and the dauphin; Mary, whoſe youth and inexperience muſt here excuſe her, had previouſly been perſuaded to ſubſcribe three deeds, by which, ſhould ſhe fail of an heir, ſhe had, in free gift, aſſigned over her kingdom to the crown of France, declaring every other future promiſe or deed, to be void and of no effect. Under this deluſion, the marriage was celebrated, on the 24th of April 1558, with great pomp and ſplendor; and the Scotch deputies were treated with the utmoſt elegance. After a proper ſtay in France,

France, having executed their commiſſion, they thought of returning home; but they had ſcarcely taken leave of the court for that purpoſe, when four out of the eight, viz. the biſhop of Orkney, the earl of Rothes, the earl of Caſſils, and lord Fleming, ſuddenly died. And though the death of theſe noblemen was not at that time much taken notice of, yet upon the diſcovery of the double-dealing which had been uſed, it was univerſally, though perhaps without foundation, attributed to poiſon.

It has been obſerved that the regent's conduct towards the proteſtants was inoffenſive. The reformation, therefore, meeting with no check, made an aſtoniſhing progreſs: half the kingdom had by this time renounced popery. And as many perſons of rank and fortune had avowed themſelves to be proteſtants, they now began to make demands, which obliged Mary to lay aſide the maſk. Not to mention particulars, they moved, that the religion, which they profeſſed, ſhould be the eſtabliſhed one throughout the whole kingdom.

In England, Elizabeth, who now
1559. ſwayed the ſcepter, had made ſuch an eſtabliſhment complete: and this conſideration, in all probability, encouraged the Scots to be reſolute in their demand. But the reformers little knew what cruel orders had been tranſmitted from France. They, in ſhort, amounted to the utter extinction of proteſtants by fire and ſword; and the earl of Argyle, the prior of St. Andrews, and other leaders of the party were devoted to immediate deſtruction. But the regent was too politic, if not humane, to obey ſuch deſperate commands. On the contrary, though the popiſh clergy made a great clamour, as foreſeeing the downfall of their pride and luxury, ſhe allowed to the proteſtants the free and public exerciſe of their religion. But as ſhe had been heard to declare, "that

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the performance of promiſes was no farther to be urged to princes, than was conſiſtent with their own conveniency," they were deſirous to ſecure themſelves by a parliamentary ſanction.

No longer able to diſſemble, ſhe treated this application with contempt, and threatened the abridgement of former privileges. On this uſage, the famous John Knox, and other preachers, animated their adherents in Perth with the moſt enlarged ſentiments of religious liberty. As they were returning from one of Knox's ſermons, fired with violent zeal, a prieſt imprudently prepared to celebrate maſs as they paſſed. At this hated ſight they could no longer forbear; but with the moſt outrageous fury, they unanimouſly fell upon the churches and monaſteries in that city, and after deſtroying every image and picture therein, they almoſt levelled them with the ground. Though this riot is generally believed to have been meerly accidental, the regent conſidered it as a determined thing. She inſtantly levied forces, and began her march to Perth. The proteſtants, on this intelligence, ſwarmed together from all quarters; ſo that in a few days, though the queen was 7000 ſtrong, they were in a condition to face her. Both parties, however, being little deſirous of coming to extremities, concluded a treaty; which, on the part of the queen, was very ſoon broken. Accordingly the proteſtants aſſembled afreſh, called themſelves *The Congregation*, and again took arms. This produced another treaty which was broken like the former.

The proteſtant Scots finding the regent no longer truſt-worthy, aſſembled themſelves in arms once more, and proceeded to action. They were led on by James Stewart, prior of St. Andrews, and Arran, the ſon of the late regent, who had been obliged to fly from France for uttering ſome very free ſpeeches againſt popery. Numbers daily flocking to

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their ſtandard, they ſoon found themſelves ſuperior to the queen's forces, though lately conſiderably augmented by the French. Their views, as true proteſtants, now comprehended civil, as well as religious liberty.

They ſaw the antient inhabitants of Leith driven from their houſes, and which were now occupied by a ſtanding army of foreigners: therefore, though they primarily inſiſted on the legal eſtabliſhment of their religion, they, in the next place, declared that if the French forces were not ſpeedily diſmiſſed, they would themſelves expel them Scotland, together with thoſe who abetted them. As the regent refuſed to do either the one or the other, *The Congregation* having ſo great a cauſe depending, and not being willing to proceed with raſhneſs, aſſembled the whole body, peers, barons, and repreſentatives of boroughs, who were attached to their party, in order to deliberate on what meaſures they ſhould adopt. Willox, and the ſpirited Knox, appeared for the whole order of divines; who, in full aſſembly, having juſtly maintained, "That it was lawful for ſubjects not only to reſiſt tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of their unſcriptural authority," every individual member of the convocation, riſing up in order, gave his ſuffrage for diſmiſſing the queen from her office of regent.

On this reſolution, *The Congregation* was joined by the late regent himſelf, who by way of douceur for his reſignation of that poſt, had, by the French king, been created duke of Chatelherault. He was ſhortly afterwards followed by Maitland, the queen's chief ſecretary, a ſtateſman of the moſt conſummate abilities, who ſecretly had long favoured the reformation. This great man ſoon diſcovered to the lords of the Congregation; that, without a miracle, it would be impoſſible for them to accompliſh their purpoſes. He adviſed therefore not to hazard

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engagement with their undiſciplined, though numerous troops, againſt ſuch forces as the French, which, by the martial reigns of Francis the 1ſt and Henry the 2d, had become veterans in the art of war. But he propoſed that they ſhould aſk aſſiſtance from the Engliſh; with whom it is imagined both he and Knox had long maintained a private correſpondence. As his countrymen did not immediately coincide with this advice, there was a neceſſity of doing ſomething. Accordingly, the *Congregation* took poſſeſſion of Edinburg; but here, being ſtill perſuaded from riſking a battle, through want of money, and other leſs eſſential cauſes, they were reduced to the greateſt diſtreſs. In this ſituation, Maitland renewed his propoſal, informing them that they might depend on aid from England, if they thought that the cauſe in which they now ſuffered was ſufficiently deſperate and momentous to demand it.

At length they complied: In conſequence of which, Cockburn of Ormiſter was immediately ordered to repair to Berwick, where ſir James Crofts and ſir Ralph Sadler commanded, who had already received direction to ſupply the preſent exigency of the proteſtants, by the payment of 4000 crowns. But Cockburn's party, in returning with the money, was intercepted by the earl of Bothwell, (who at that time was the only nobleman of note in the queen's intereſt,) and ſtripped of their ſupply.

The Scots, notwithſtanding this accident, were kept from deſponding by the continual harangues of Knox and his Brethren. But the count de Martigues arriving from France with 1000 foot and ſome cavalry, the whole force of their eloquence was neceſſary, in order to hinder the Congregation from diſperſing. On this occaſion, the diligent prior o St. Andrews aſſembled 600 horſe, with which he 1560.

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aſſailed the French, beat up their quarters, intercepted their proviſions, and cut off their ſtraggling parties. Martigues, however, having joined his countrymen, advanced along the coaſt towards St. Andrews, with an intention to engage the proteſtants. In their march they diſcovered, from an eminence, a conſiderable fleet ſtanding in for the firth of Forth. And inſtantly concluding it to be that which they had expected, with a numerous army, under the command of the marquis D'Elbeuf, they ſaluted it with their great guns, and indulged themſelves in an extravagance of joy. But a ſmall boat, which landed from the oppoſite ſhore, made them ſenſible to their utter dejection, that the fleet was from England, for the aid of the Congregation; and that a powerful army would ſoon follow. On this diſagreeable intelligence, they with all haſte retreated to Stirling.

The proteſtants, thus timely relieved, ſoon after the arrival of this ſquadron, repaired to Berwick, and through the duke of Norfolk concluded the following treaty with Elizabeth, "That no cloſer union with France ſhould ever be ſuffered; for which reaſon, and to prevent the encroachments of that power, the queen of England promiſed to employ in Scotland a conſiderable army, which the Scots agreed to ſecond with all their forces. No place in Scotland was to be put into the hands of the Engliſh; whatever was taken from the enemy, ſhould, at the diſcretion of the Scots, either be kept by themſelves or demoliſhed: and if any invaſion ſhould be made on England, the Scots bound themſelves to aſſiſt Elizabeth with part of their forces." This treaty was ratified, and hoſtages given to Elizabeth for the due performance of it, before the march of her army into Scotland.

This army, which conſiſted of 6000 foot and 2000 horſe, arrived in April; and as the troops, which

hich had been intended for the aſſiſtance of the ench, under the marquis D'Elbeuf, had, by a mpeſt, been diſperſed ſeveral ways, the regent w found herſelf unable to keep the field. The ench, however, had thrown themſelves into ith, where they were determined to ſtand a ſiege. the height of which, on the 10th of June, died e queen-regent, who was the inſtrument, rather an the cauſe of all theſe troubles, being in her n nature, (according to Buchanan) a woman of excellent diſpoſition and ſingular abilities. On r death, the French foreſeeing that their party ould neceſſarily dwindle, made overtures of peace; hich being hearkened to, Monluc, biſhop of Va-nce, and the ſieur Randan for the French, Cecil, lizabeth's prime miniſter, and Wotton, dean of anterbury, were appointed to negotiate it. On e 6th of July it was concluded;--the French greed to recall their troops from Scotland,---the roteſtant religion was left to the deciſion of par-ament, an act of oblivion was paſſed, and the ſo-reign authority delegated to the lords of the Con-regation. Tranquility being thus happily re-ored, the French and Engliſh armies quitted Scot-nd both at the ſame time.

Now nothing remained for the Scots but to ſettle eir religion; in this affair, the ardour of the no-les was little inferior to that of Knox and Wil-ox. A parliament, therefore, the moſt numerous hat had ever been known, met in Auguſt, and, in a w days, overturned popery, that antient ſuperſtitious yſtem of religion, though it had been eſtabliſhed many centuries. Not one of the [redacted] this parliament had the boldneſs [redacted] indication of their doctrines; ſo that the proteſ-ant religion being voted, without oppoſition, the eformed teachers were ordered to draw up a confeſ-ion of faith; which they accordingly did, and it et with univerſal approbation.

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The death of the French monarch, Henry the 2d, which happened the laſt year, was now followed by that of his ſucceſſor Francis the 2d, Mary's husband: an event which to the Scots was extremely pleaſing, as they conſidered that it would give firmneſs and ſtability to their new ſyſtem, which was formed after the model of the reformed church of Geneva. One thing muſt be obſerved, that though Knox and his brethren propoſed an impartial diſtribution of abbey-lands and eccleſiaſtical revenues, to promote religion, encourage learning, and ſupport the poor; yet as the moſt valuable of theſe had been already ſeized by the nobles, they treated the propoſal with diſregard, and calling it, "a devout imagination," they held faſt their prey. The following year, abbies and cathedrals, and every monument of popery, which had eſcaped the firſt rage of the reformers, were, by act of parliament, laid in ruins.

1561. The grand point of religious government, and in which a people's liberty or ſlavery, muſt, in a great meaſure, depend, having been thus finally ſettled; the ſtates of the kingdom appointed the prior of St. Andrews, to wait on the queen, and invite her to take into her own hands the reins of government. Though ſhe had been educated in the catholic religion, and hence many dreaded her return, yet upon the whole, the invitation was ſincere. On the other hand, Leſley, biſhop of Roſs, was privately commiſſioned, by the papiſts, (who were far from an inconſiderable body) to adviſe her that, if when ſhe came over, ſhe would land at Aberdeen, where the proteſtant doctrine had made the leaſt progreſs, ſhe ſhould be joined by 20,000 men, at the head of whom, ſhe might eaſily overturn the fabric of preſbytery, not yet thoroughly cemented, and re-eſtabliſh popery.

But though Leſley obtained the firſt audience, his embaſſy was diſregarded, while the prior was received

ceived with the greateſt affection and confidence. he expreſſed towards her people, ſentiments the oſt tender and equitable; but accuſtomed as ſhe as to the ſplendor and gaiety of the French court, e could not think of leaving it but with regret. er good ſenſe, however, ſoon determined her, ſagreeable as it might be, to quit France, and return to her native country. Whilſt ſhe was reparing for this voyage, commenced thoſe fatal rs with England, which imbittered and ſhortened r days. By the 6th article in the late peace, lary, (who had been perſuaded by her father-in-w Henry the 2d, not meerly to uſe, on every oc-aſion, the arms of England, but even to lay claim the crown;) after acknowledging that the crown f England and Ireland did of right belong to lizabeth, had ſolemnly promiſed that ſhe would ever hereafter uſe the titles, or bear the arms of hoſe kingdoms. This article Mary had never atified. Her pretenſions to the crown of England dded greatly to her importance; and therefore, hough ſhe had not uſed the titles for ſome time, he certainly meant, by not ratifying the treaty, to evive her claim on the firſt proſpect of ſucceſs.

The celebrated Dr. Robertſon, whoſe hiſtory of his reign is here principally followed, is of opinion, hat as Elizabeth's own ſubjects could not deny he queen of Scots to be her immediate heir, if Mary therefore, inſtead of promiſing to abſtain rom bearing the title of queen of England "in ll times to come," had engaged not to aſſume hat title, "during the life of Elizabeth, or the ives of her lawful poſterity," matters might thus ave terminated amicably.

But female jealouſly on the part of Elizabeth, had in this affair, no inconſiderable ſway. Eliza-beth, though a great queen, had, in her diſpoſition, as the reader will have occaſion to remark, much of

of the vain woman. She was prodigiouſly fond dreſs, uncommonly ſolicitous to diſplay her char and with the incenſe of flattery exceedingly lighted. The Scotch queen, though ſhe failed abilities, ſurpaſſed her in beauty; amongſt the litical motives therefore, which urged Elizabe ſomething, is to be aſcribed to thoſe paſſions weakneſſes which princes feel in common with th ſubjects. Hence it was that ſhe refuſed Mar ſafe conduct. However, the queen ſet ſail: kept on deck, inceſſantly gazing on the Fren coaſt; and when her eyes could not longer diſce it, ſhe cried out, "Farewell France! Farewell loved country, which I ſhall never more behold By the favour of a briſk gale, and afterwards of thick fog, ſhe eſcaped an Engliſh fleet, which is thought, lay in wait to intercept her, and land ſafely at Leith, on the 19th of Auguſt, after th teen years abſence from her native country.

The reception which ſhe met with, was far fro giving her a favourable opinion of her change; f the Scots not expecting her arrival ſo ſoon, we under a neceſſity of eſcorting her to Holyrood-hou over a barren country with very little pomp. How ever, on her entering Edinburg, this was amply re compenſed by the moſt unbounded teſtifications joy; though it is worth obſerving, that as it wa cuſtomary in thoſe times to exhibit a number pageants at public feſtivals, moſt of theſe, on th occaſion, were uncouth repreſentations of God vengeance againſt idolators. But the Sunday fo lowing, theſe expreſſions of approbation were little contradicted; for ſhe commanded maſs to b celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The popu lace, notwithſtanding the awe, with which her pre ſence had inſpired them, would on this occaſio have proceeded to violence, but for the timely in terpoſition of the prior of St. Andrews. By hi means

eans, the queen, and her domeſtics, then and ever ter, were allowed the undiſturbed exerciſe of their ligion. This indulgence to the queen, produced r royal aſſent to the reformation; together with a oclamation, that any attempt to alter or ſubvert it, ould be deemed felony. The prior and Maitland, erſons very much in favour with the people, now came her chief favourites; none but proteſtants ere promoted to offices of value or importance; d the queen, obſerving the diſpoſition of her peo-e, gave but little countenance to papiſts.

But Mary, ſoon began to experience the cares of overnment: her favourable regard of the prior of t. Andrews, was a thorn in the ſide of the earl of untley, who was a bigotted papiſt, and had greatly attered himſelf with the thoughts of enjoying the ueen's entire confidence; he therefore conſidered e prior as the rival of his power. A few perſonal juries ſoon created a quarrel, which ere long be-n to flame with great violence; but as the prior feated the efforts of his private revenge, he madly uſhed into open rebellion; and his fury againſt the ueen was ſtill heightened, by her creating the ior *Earl of Murray*, the title and revenues of hich Huntley had claimed for himſelf. The new-ade earl inſtantly undertook to quell the inſur-ction; which he accordingly effected with a hand-l of men; and in the engagement, Huntley, who as extremely corpulent, was trampled to death. ow far the views of this ambitious nobleman had xtended is not very clear; but it is generally be-ved that the crown itſelf was his object.

This inſurrection being quelled, Mary egan to new-model her court; and as 1563.
ar as ſhe was able, France was her pat-ern. Knox, and the rigid reformers of thoſe days, ave repreſented her as introducing not only luxury, ut indecency; though it is probable that they be-

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ſtowed theſe hard names meerly on regal ſtate, a
the innocent diverſion of dancing. Her ſubjects
general, now wiſhed that ſhe would take into h
conſideration one important concern. As ſhe h
been a widow two years, they wiſhed for her ma
riage; that ſo the crown might deſcend in an u
interrupted line from ancient monarchs. She w
exceedingly beautiful, and beſides being adorn
with moſt female accompliſhments; ſhe was w
ſkilled in what, at that time, were reckoned poli
ſtudies: her fame had ſpread all over Europe; a
if to this be added the proſpect of mounting t
Engliſh throne, it will be no longer ſurprizing th
many different princes ſhould ſue for an alliance
illuſtrious. Propoſals of this nature were ma
from Charles the archduke of Auſtria; from Phil
the 2d's ſon, Don Carlos of Spain; and by t
duke of Anjou; but as ſeveral circumſtances co
curred to divert Mary from the thoughts of a forei
alliance, Elizabeth warmly recommended to her t
eſpouſal of her favourite, Robert Dudley earl
Leiceſter.

But a match with an Engliſh ſubject, was n
way agreeable to Mary's high ſpirit. She, howeve
treated Elizabeth's miniſters with great reſpect; a
giving an evaſive anſwer, propoſed, in her turn,
the Engliſh queen, a marrriage between her and t
earl of Arran. On this occaſion, the two quee
entered into a correſpondence, which was carri
on, till the ſpring of 1565, with equal politene
and diſſimulation. At length Mary declared, th
if Elizabeth would publickly acknowledge her rig
of ſucceſſion to the Engliſh crown, ſhe would h
nour the earl of Leiceſter with her perſon. As th
was touching Elizabeth to the quick, the corre
pondence dropped.

About this time, Henry Stewart, lord Darnl
ſon of the earl of Lenox, who had been exiled
th

e regent duke of Chattelherault, arrived in Scot-
nd. This nobleman was ſcarcely twenty years of
e; in ſtature above the common ſize, perfectly
ell ſhaped, and handſome to effeminacy. Being
ell verſed in ſuch arts, as could add eaſe and ele-
ance to his form, he at once decided an affair
hich had been the object of many political in-
rigues. The queen ſaw him as the only man
hom ſhe determined to eſpouſe. For ſome time,
owever, her inclination was not known; but
arnly falling ill of the meaſles, her love grew too
iolent to be any longer concealed; for breaking
rough all form and dignity, ſhe ſubmitted, dur-
g his illneſs, to be his perſonal attendant. On
s recovery, ſhe publickly avowed her regard; and
ot to dwell upon particulars, which the limits of
is hiſtory will not permit, though her choice of
im was rather diſagreeable to Murray and to many
f her ſubjects, and intirely ſo to Elizabeth, he
eceived her hand on the 29th of July: The
eremony was performed in her own chapel, and
ccording to the rites of the church of Rome.

To teſtify the height of her affection, ſhe iſſued
ut orders that he ſhould be intitled king of Scots,
ommanding, at the ſame time, all writs of law to
un in the joint names of king and queen. This
iolent ſtretch of prerogative not a little alarmed
er ſubjects. Murray, who before the marriage,
ad found that the tide of court-favour ran ſtrongly
gainſt him, and therefore had retired from the
dminiſtration; becoming now the object of the
ing's hatred, and having received intimation that
is life was in danger, (though whether any con-
piracy was or was not formed againſt him, has hi-
herto been diſputable) ſummoned his military
enants; but having in vain attempted to rouſe the
nhabitants of Edinburg to arms, either in order to
evenge the plot which had been formed againſt

him, or to prevent the ill effects of the queen's fondneſs, he retired with his forces to Dumfries. He ſent letters to Mary from hence, full of ſubmiſſion, offering to accommodate matters, and imploring her forgiveneſs. But the queen being determined to cruſh him, rejected his offers, and advanced towards him with 18,000 men. On this he fled into England, and put himſelf under the protection of Elizabeth, who, as ſome hiſtorians aſſert, had excited him to take arms merely to diſtreſs the queen of Scots, on account of her marriage with Darnly, of which in the ſtrongeſt terms ſhe had expreſſed her diſpleaſure. Here, though Elizabeth, in order to ſave appearances with Mary, affected openly to diſcountenance him, he not only found an aſylum, but a ſupport.

1566. As the proſperity of Mary's affairs had rooted her averſion to Murray, it alſo began to inſpire her with ſentiments, no leſs prejudicial to the whole proteſtant party, than the revival of popery. This, notwithſtanding her former ſolemn engagements, ſhe certainly had attempted, in a parliament which was to have met on the 12th of March, but for the following unexpected event:

The queen's violent paſſion for Darnly ſoon began to abate. She found, that beſides his perſon, he had nothing to recommend him. The little underſtanding he had, was ſtill leſſened by ſelf-conceit; and all the queen's caution could not preſerve him from raſhneſs and imprudence. As he was fond of the amuſements, and even addicted to many of the vices of youth, on every ſlight domeſtic quarrel, his impatient temper led him into ſcenes of the deepeſt debauchery. He drank to exceſs, affronted the queen in public, and brought infection to her bed. As ſuch a vile return for her exceſſive kindneſs was intolerable, Mary took little care to hide

ide her diſguſt. The king, before his marriage, ad cultivated an acquaintance with one David izio, the ſon of a muſician in Turin. By ſer- ility and inſinuation this man gained admiſſion into he queen's family, who retained him for his ſkill in uſic, and he ſoon crept into conſiderable favour. o Rizio, (who had refuſed of late to accom- any him in his extravagancies) and not to his wn bad behaviour, Darnly imputed the alienation f the queen's affection.

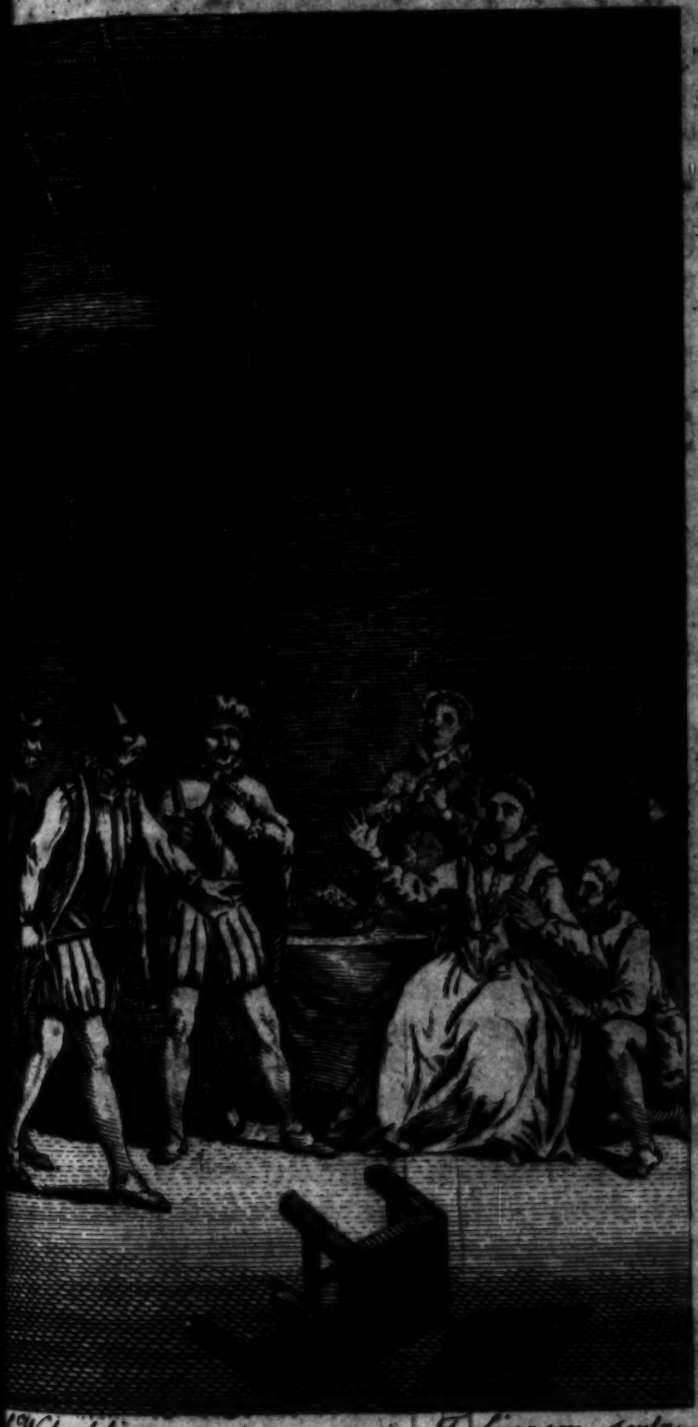
Whether Mary's favour to her muſician ever oſe to a criminal indulgence, has never been horoughly aſcertained. Buchanan expreſly accuſes er, but, in this reſpect, he is thought, by many to ave departed from the truth of hiſtory. It is cer- ain, however, that ſhe frequently permitted him o ſup with her; and that he was her conſtant at- endant in all her recreations. As Darnly concluded er to be guilty, he devoted this unworthy favourite o deſtruction. Rizio had been ſo intoxicated with he queen's regard, as to ſtudy on every occaſion to iſplay it, talking familiarly to his ſovereign, and whiſpering in her ear, even in parliament: hence Darnly found it no difficult matter to engage many f the nobility to aſſiſt him in his reſolution. Ac- cordingly having communicated his deſire to the arl of Morton, lord Lindſay, and lord Ruthven, hey agreed to ſet aſide the minion, requiring, by way of preliminary, that the king ſhould recal the arl of Murray, together with ſuch of his friends s were with him in exile. Matters being thus djuſted, they proceeded to gratify Darnly's reſent- ment. Morton and Ruthven honeſtly propoſed to ave Rizio tried by parliament, and hanged pub- lickly if ſo ſentenced; but the king's revenge was ſo vehement, that he declared the wretch ſhould be aſſaſſinated in the queen's preſence, though ſhe was ix months advanced in her pregnancy; proteſting

that if they refuſed their aſſiſtance, he would ſt
him with his own hand.

On the 9th of March, therefore, whi
1566. Rizio and the counteſs of Argyle were
ſupper with the queen, Darnly, by a pr
vate paſſage, ſuddenly entered the apartment. Ruth
ven and three or four of his truſty accomplices, fo
lowed in armour. The queen and her company we
ſtruck with terrible aſtoniſhment! Rizio concludi
himſelf to be the intended victim, ran for ſhelt
behind the queen's back, and clung to her cloath
while Ruthven, with his drawn dagger, command
him to leave the room. But the queen, ſtill protec
ing him, he was violently ſevered from her; a
being pierced with fifty-ſix wounds, he expired
the adjoining apartment.

The conſpirators for ſome time kept poſſeſſion
the palace; carefully guarded the queen, and ex
torted from her, in the king's preſence, a promi
of pardon. Murray, in the mean time, return
according to agreement, and was well receive
both by the king and queen, but he carefully avoide
taking part with the aſſaſſins. As Mary ſoon ſa
that her huſband, who had prohibited the parli
ment from meeting on the day appointed, was i
reſolute what courſe to take; ſhe uſed ſuch ſucceſ
ful arts, as prevailed with him to diſmiſs the gua
of her perſon, and to retire with her to Dunba
Darnly having here publickly proteſted againſt an
participation in the murder of Rizio; Morton, an
his aſſociates, apprehenſive of bad conſequence
from this baſe uſage, fled precipitately to Newcaſt
Mary then returned to Edinburg, where ſhe em
ployed all the rigour of the law againſt the perſon
who had been any way concerned in the murder
her favourite. It appears, however, that only tw
men of inconſiderable rank were executed.

Though the king, by his proclamations, endea
voured to perſuade the public that he was not a
acceſſar



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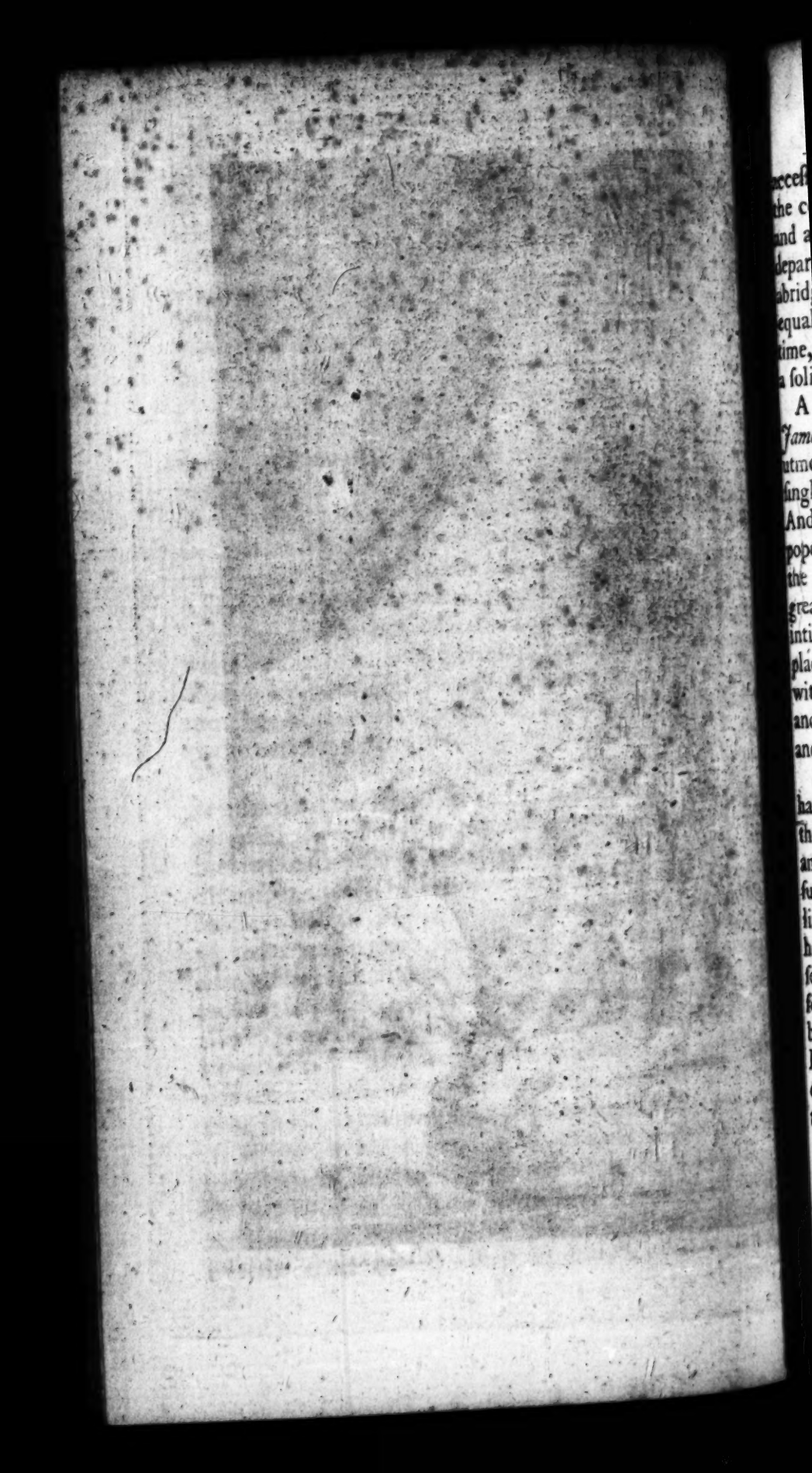

ceſſary in this crime; the queen knew full well the contrary. Her hatred to him therefore increaſed; and as he perſevered in his lewd and riotous courſes, departing intirely from a king's dignity, ſhe wiſely abridged his power. Thus circumſtanced, and equally diſregarded by the nobility, he, for ſome time, retired to his father's houſe, where he lived in a ſolitude unpitied and neglected.

A new favourite with Mary, now appeared in *James Hepburn earl of Bothwell*. A papiſt of the utmoſt bigottry, who had formerly ventured almoſt ſingly to oppoſe the meaſures of the *Congregation*. And as the queen was bent on the reſtoration of popery, having actually written to pope Pius the 5th for a nuncio, and in the mean time allowed great indulgence to prieſts, Bothwell enjoyed her intire confidence. But as he was Murray's implacable enemy, and the queen deſired to keep well with that nobleman, ſhe laboured to reconcile them, and at laſt procured a mutual promiſe to forgive, and forget all paſt injuries.

As the hour of the queen's delivery was now at hand, ſhe fixed her reſidence at Edinburg caſtle, as the place of the greateſt ſecurity for her perſon, amidſt the tumults which were not yet intirely ſubſided. Here, on the 19th of June, ſhe was delivered of her only ſon James, who afterwards by his acceſſion to the throne of England, united two ſeparate kingdoms into what they ſeemed formed for by nature,---ONE GREAT MONARCHY. His baptiſm, at which queen Elizabeth, the king of France, and the duke of Savoy, ſtood ſponſors, was celebrated with uncommon magnificence; but after the Romiſh manner.

The king's ſituation now grew ſo exceedingly irkſome to him, that he intimated his intention of quitting Scotland. But as the queen thought that his departure would probably ſpread their quarrel

all over Europe, and that, in ſuch a caſe, ſhe herſelf might ſuffer in the opinion of many, ſhe managed matters in ſuch a manner, as to prevent his intended flight: And in the mean time, tranſmitted from Jedburgh, where ſhe was holding a court of juſtice, an acccount of his and her tranſactions to the king of France; ſetting her own conduct doubtleſs in the moſt favourable point of view.

Bothwell was at this time chaſtiſing the licentious borderers; in a ſkirmiſh with whom, he had received a wound which obliged him to be carried to Hermitage caſtle. The queen no ſooner heard of this than ſhe travelled from Jedburgh, eighteen miles over a moſt rugged road, in order to ſee him. This famous viſit has been attributed to various motives; but moſt hiſtorians believe, that the ſole incentive was love.

Finding Bothwell's indiſpoſition but ſlight, ſhe returned to Jedburgh the ſame day; but the hurry of her ſpirits, together with the fatigue of her journey, threw her the next morning into a fever; from which, however, her youth and excellent conſtitution very ſoon recovered her. Perfectly to re-eſtabliſh her health, the queen fixed her reſidence at Craigmillar. The king ſtill remained in a contemptuous ſolitude at Stirling: from whence, the following year, he removed to Glaſgow. Here he was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper, the effect, as ſome ſay, of poiſon; nor did the queen once viſit him, till he was out of danger, a ſimilar compliment to that which he had paid to her at Jedburgh.

But now all at once the queen appeared to be reconciled to him. Complaining of the badneſs of the air where he then was, ſhe prepared a houſe for his reception at Edinburg, which had the advantage of an healthful ſituation. The king, overjoyed at her return of affection for him, and believing it to be thoroughly ſincere, was carried thither in a litter,

er, being ſtill weak. The queen and Bothwell aſſiduouſly attended him; and the former ſlept ſeveral nights under his roof. But according to every appearance of reaſon, conſidering her former behaviour, and what afterwards enſued, the queen's kindneſs was rank artifice; and whilſt the wretched Darnly fondly dreamed of future happineſs with his wife, it is the opinion of the moſt credible writers, that, in concert with the earl of Bothwell, ſhe was plotting his deſtruction.

On Sunday the 9th of February, ſays Dr. Robertſon, about eleven at night, the queen left his majeſty in order to be preſent at a maſque in the palace. At two next morning, the houſe in which the king lay, was blown up with gun-powder. The noiſe and ſhock, which this ſudden exploſion occaſioned, alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place whence it came. The dead body of the king, with that of a ſervant, who ſlept in the ſame room, was found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, and with no bruiſe or mark of violence.

Thus fell Henry Stewart, lord Darnly, whoſe memory, nothing but the manner of his death could have preſerved, and rendered lamentable. He was ſoon buried by the queen with little pomp, and leſs ſorrow, by the ſide of her favourite Rizio.

As to the author of this execrable deed, general ſuſpicion pointed the finger at Bothwell. Lenox, (Darnly's father) boldly charged him with it. He was accordingly tried, but by his own great influence, and the queen's dexterous management, who ſtill treated the ſuppoſed murderer with the greateſt familiarity, he was acquitted. This verdict in his favour, was far from being the ſenſe of the nation. The people in general murmured; for only eleven days were allowed to prepare for his trial, beſides other ſuſpicious proceedings; but as

they only murmured, without raiſing any commotion; he diſregarded them, and haſtened to complete his laſt great project, which was nothing leſs than a marriage with the queen. For this end, having divorced his wife, he invited moſt of the principal nobility to an entertainment; at the cloſe of which, he diſcovered his intention, and at the ſame time tendered a paper for his gueſts to ſign, which contained the ſtrongeſt declaration of his innocence, ---thanks for his good ſervices to the nation,---and finally, a recommendation to the queen, as a proper perſon for her huſband. Awed by armed men, overcome with wine, ſubdued by flattery, or prevailed on by promiſes, all his gueſts ſigned this paper, to the diſcredit of themſelves, and the diſhonour of their country.

The queen's affections having been previouſly engaged, there remained nothing now but the celebration of their nuptials; which Mary, to her utter ruin and everlaſting diſgrace, permitted on the 15th of May.

1567.

But Bothwell found that he had ſtill one ſtep to the pinacle of his deſires. The young prince had been intruſted to the care of the earl of Mar, a nobleman every way deſerving of ſuch a particular confidence. The earl was tampered with to reſign his charge; but his integrity was proof againſt the moſt flattering promiſes. Inſtead of giving up the prince, he made ſome of the principal nobility acquainted with Bothwell's proceedings. Apprehenſive that young James might ſoon be forced from his guardian, and dreading leſt, in that caſe, both ſon and father ſhould die by the ſame hands; Argyle, Athol, Mar, Morton, Glencairn, Home, Lindſay, Boyd, and others, entered into a confederacy for the ſafety of his perſon, and the abolition of Bothwell's power. Their intention was no ſooner made known, than the inhabitants of Edinburg, and parts adjacent, joined

joined them in arms. The queen and Bothwell, after publiſhing manifeſtoes in vindication of their conduct,---which were little regarded,---retired to Dunbar. They were quickly followed by the confederates, whom Bothwell, in his deſperate ſituation, determined, with his diſheartened followers, to withſtand.

On the 15th of July, both armies, which in number were nearly equal, were ready to engage. Bothwell's forces were poſted on a riſing ground, to the greateſt advantage; but they were ſeized, notwithſtanding every endeavour to animate them, with ſuch a panic, that the queen, who ſaw the enemy ſurrounding them, gave up every thing for loſt. And Bothwell himſelf taking his laſt leave of her, rode off the field in the utmoſt diſmay. Upon this, the unhappy queen ſurrendered herſelf to Kirkaldy of Grange, a generous and brave man, who headed an advanced body of the confederates.

Though the confederate lords, to whom ſhe was conducted by Kirkaldy, treated her with great reſpect, they either could or would not reſtrain the licence of the ſoldiery, who inſulted her with the utmoſt inſolence and barbarity. Where e'er ſhe threw around her eyes, there appeared pictures held up by them, on which was painted the dead body of the late king, ſtretched at length, with the prince kneeling before it, and uttering theſe words, "Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord." When beauty and diſtreſs are united, they uſually produce compaſſion; but the wretched Mary experienced all the horrors of captivity. She was led a public ſpectacle through the ſtreets of Edinburg, covered with duſt and bathed in tears; and then impriſoned in the caſtle of Lochlevin.

The reaſon aſſigned for this laſt piece of ſeventy, is, a caſket was diſcovered in Edinburg caſtle, which contained a ſecret correſpondence with Bothwell, in the courſe of which, during Darnly's life-

time, ſhe had written love ſonnets to him; and as ſome of the letters, (which a few perſons believe to be forged) ſtrongly proved that ſhe was equally guilty with Bothwell of the late king's death, having contrived the very manner of it herſelf; hence the lords ſtrictly confined her.

As ſhe was at no pains to conceal her attachment to the wretch, who had ſo daſtardly forſaken her, they tendered her alſo a paper to ſign, in which ſhe ſhould renounce all ſhare in the government, agree to the coronation of the young king, and to the appointment of the earl of Murray as regent, who was juſt then returned from France, where he had retired ſoon after the king's murder. In deep deſpair ſhe ſigned this deed, on the 24th of July; on the 29th James was crowned at Stirling; and Murray, on the day following, was prevailed with to accept the regency.

JAMES VI.

1567. MARY afterwards declared, that her compliance and reſignation was extorted from her; and therefore hiſtorians in general have conſidered her as queen of Scotland, till the day of her death. But from this time every national circumſtance was tranſacted under the name of her ſon.

Bothwell's diſappointed ambition ſoon led him to fit out a ſmall ſquadron of ſhips, and to act as a pirate againſt his own countrymen. A reward of a thouſand crowns being ſet on his head, Kirkaldy ſailed in queſt of him, and diſperſed his fleet; on which, in the greateſt diſtreſs, through want of proviſion, Bothwell attacked a rich ſhip which belonged to Norway; but the Norwegians coming with armed boats to her aſſiſtance, he and his crew were taken priſoners. The latter were all executed, but Bothwell's character being diſcovered, the wretch

wretch was favoured with impriſonment for life, and died deſervedly unpitied by his countrymen, and unaſſiſted by ſtrangers, in the 10th year of his captivity.

Whilſt the ſtates of Scotland were deliberating on what meaſures they ſhould take with Mary, ſhe was meditating her eſcape. In the 6th month of her impriſonment, by flattering her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen, with the hope of even a marriage, ſhe, through his aſſiſtance, had the good fortune to accompliſh it. She travelled poſt with her deliverer to Hamilton, where, in a few days, ſhe found herſelf at the head of an army 6000 ſtrong.

The regent heard of her flight with the greateſt aſtoniſhment. He ſoon received intelligence of her ſituation, and concluding that ſhe would ſhortly march towards the capital, he reſolved to meet her half way. Having drawn together about 4000 men, he marched to Dunbarton, and poſted his troops advantageouſly on an eminence, called Langſide-Hill. Here, on the 13th of May, Mary's party attacked him with the utmoſt im- 1568.
petuoſity, but with ſo little judgment, that the regent, having ſtood the ſhock of their furious onſet, without much injury, diſordered them, and they were ſoon totally routed. But as the regent and his officers, in the purſuit, conjured the ſoldiers to ſpare their countrymen, few were killed, though numbers taken priſoners.

It was on this bad ſucceſs, that Mary, who had ſeen all which paſſed in the field, from an hill at no great diſtance, dreading the thought of falling again into the power of her ſubjects, determined to throw herſelf on the protection of Elizabeth. For that end, ſhe fled with ſurpriſing celerity to Carliſle; where ſhe arrived, before the regent knew even the rout which he had taken. Lowther, the deputy-governor of that

that place received her with many marks of reſpect. She inſtantly wrote a long letter to Elizabeth, ſtrongly repreſenting the ingratitude of her own ſubjects, and imploring that aid which the Engliſh queen, it ſeems, had formerly promiſed, and which her preſent diſagreeable circumſtances demanded.

Elizabeth, having in council, maturely conſidered on what courſe ſhe ſhould take with Mary in this emergency, (in which deliberation, it has been ſaid, that the queſtion was not what was moſt juſt or generous, but what was moſt beneficial to herſelf and to the Engliſh nation) reſolved to keep her in England, and at the ſame time to manage matters ſo with Mary, that it might ſeem her own deſire. Accordingly, lord Scroop and ſir Francis Knolles were diſpatched with letters, full of expreſſions the moſt kind and condoling. On receipt of theſe, Mary deſired to be eſcorted to London, in order to obtain a perſonal interview; but Scroop and Knolles, agreeably to their private inſtructions, informed her that their miſtreſs could by no means admit of ſuch a viſit, till Mary had cleared herſelf from having had any concern in her huſbands murder. On this cruel rebuff, ſhe offered to ſubmit the proof of her innocence to the cognizance of Elizabeth; and, in the mean time, ſhe was conducted to Bolton caſtle in Yorkſhire.

Elizabeth well knew that as matters now ſtood, a public enquiry before her into the conduct of Mary would manifeſt her own ſuperiority; ſuch a propoſal was the very thing which that jealous queen aimed at, and therefore ſhe determined forthwith to bring Mary to trial. In the mean while, by a maſter-ſtroke of policy, ſhe required the regent to defend *his* conduct before her at Weſtminſter. As ſhe knew that the regent could not dare to diſobey her ſummons, ſhe likewiſe expected that he would naturally, for his own ſake, accuſe

Mary

Mary of being acceſſary to the death of her huſband; and in that caſe, ſhe could uſe ſuch meaſures as would lay her rival entirely at her mercy. The regent arrived at London in October, accompanied by the earl of Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindſay, and Pitcairne, commendator of Dunfermling, as commiſſioners in his behalf. To theſe were added as aſſiſtants, Balnaves of Hall-hill, Macgill of Rankeilor, two able civilians, Maitland the late ſecretary, and George Buchanan.

Mary, who during this interval, was treated by Elizabeth with the greateſt ſhew of affection, had empowered in her behalf Leſley biſhop of Roſs, lord Boyd, lord Herries, lord Levingſton, ſir John Gordon of Lochinvar, ſir James Cockburn of Skirling, and Gavin Hamilton, commendator of Kilwinning. Elizabeth, on her part, appointed Thomas Howard duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff earl of Suſſex, the earls of Arundel and Leiceſter, lord Clinton, ſir Ralph Sadler, and ſir William Cecil.

Whilſt this great affair was in agitation, Elizabeth amuſed the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadours with repeated promiſes of aſſiſting the Scottiſh queen, as far as might be conſiſtent with her honour; and it was this conſideration which had prevailed on Mary to ſuffer the ignominy of a public trial. It was firſt intended to have been conducted at York; but an intrigue between the duke of Norfolk and Mary's commiſſioners, having been diſcovered, it was on that account removed to Weſtminſter. The cauſe was opened in November. Mary's deputies having recapitulated the ſeveral articles of her impriſonment,--of the extorted deed,--and of the uſe of her ſon's name to ſalve the uſurpation of her authority,---the regent and his party were by them denominated traitors. The regent, in vindication of his own conduct, alledged, that the infamy of her marriage with Bothwell, rendered

it

it neceſſary to take arms in order to diſſolve it; and that his other proceedings, reſulted wholly from the ſhameful attachment which ſhe ſtill profeſſed for that unworthy nobleman. As he conſidered, and with reaſon, that this would be ſufficient for his defence, not a ſingle circumſtance concerning the king's murder, was hinted at.

But this was not the point at which Elizabeth aimed. Mary at all events was to be accuſed of this crime. Accordingly, at the next meeting of the commiſſioners, the earl of Lenox appeared in court, and upon oath, accuſed the queen of this murder; producing certain papers, which he ſaid would prove his allegation to be juſt. Mary's commiſſioners refuſed to reply to this bold charge, till they ſhould have obtained for their queen, the audience with Elizabeth, which ſhe had requeſted. But the regent having been referred to by Lenox, and being therefore obliged to join in accuſing the Scottiſh queen; Elizabeth, who had now ſeen all the letters of Mary to Bothwell, not only refuſed the interview, but replied to her requeſt in ſuch terms, as ſufficiently indicated that ſhe believed her guilty. And Mary herſelf, who notwithſtanding this repulſe, neglected to produce proof of her innocence, propoſing to accommodate matters with her ſubjects without it, not a little ſtrengthened the opinion. But as it is a difficult matter to dive into the breaſt of a wiſe prince, whatever were Elizabeth's real ſentiments on this head, ſhe propoſed to ſettle all diſputes between the queen and her people in the following manner: "That Mary ſhould make a formal reſignation of her crown, ratify the regent's authority, and conſent that both herſelf and her ſon ſhould reſide in England." To this propoſal, Mary, now ſeeing the extent of Elizabeth's friendſhip and generoſity, and conſidering that ſuch a ſtep would effectually blaſt her reputa-

reputation and endanger her perſon, replied, "Inſtant death is leſs terrible than ſuch an ignominy; I will part with life before I will with my own hands give away my crown; no! whatever befals me, my laſt words ſhall be thoſe of a queen of Scotland."

On this declaration, the regent was diſmiſſed, in February, without either an approval or a cenſure of his conduct. The commiſſioners for Mary followed ſoon after, and ſhe was removed to Shrewſbury, where the miſerable queen ſoon found herſelf to be a cloſe priſoner. 1569.

The regent, on his return to Scotland, found a ſtrong faction of Papiſts united in her favour. However, having been aſſured of Elizabeth's protection, he took ſuch vigorous meaſures as ſoon broke it; and the nation reſumed its tranquility. The following year, Elizabeth, who it is ſaid had diſcovered that Mary had entered into a conſpiracy, with a view to ſet herſelf on the throne of England, and reſtore the popiſh religion, determined, as ſhe foreſaw that to detain her any longer, would only be to occaſion continual cabals and inſurrections, to reſign her into the hands of the regent. But the murder of this great man prevented the execution of her deſign.

It ſeems, that the regent had deprived one Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh of a part of his eſtate, in favour of one of his friends, who, beſides taking poſſeſſion, had uſed his wife ſo ſeverely, as had deprived her of her ſenſes. For theſe injuries, though he owed his life on a former occaſion to the regent's clemency, Hamilton vowed revenge. Accordingly, on the 23d of January 1570, he poſted himſelf in an old houſe at Linlithgow, and as the regent paſſed by, he wounded him ſo deſperately with a bullet, through the lower part of his belly, that he died

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in the greateſt anguiſh the ſame night, univerſally regretted by his countrymen, who long and affectionately remembered him, under the appellation of the *Good Regent*. The murderer eſcaped to France.

Elizabeth ſunk the dignity of a queen in the exceſs of her ſorrow for the loſs of Murray. She often ſtiled him her beſt friend, and ſhe lamented his death as ſuch. On the other hand, as Mary, had long conſidered Murray as her worſt enemy, it may be ſuppoſed, without breach of charity, that this accident was far from exciting in her any diſagreeable ſenſations. It was natural for her to imagine, that her party in Scotland, which before was far from inconſiderable, would now increaſe; and ſhe flattered herſelf that it would ſoon arrive at ſufficient power, when joined with her friends on the continent, to demand her liberty. But into whatever dreams of fancied happineſs Mary might have been lulled by hope, the comforter of the unfortunate, and the tempter of the ſanguine, truth ſoon convinced her that ſhe was born to ſuffer; and ere long to drink a cup of ſorrow, mixed with every ſad circumſtance that could poſſibly embitter it.

Scotland, ſoon after the regent's death, became the ſeat of anarchy. *King's men*, and *queen's men*, were titles of diſtinction; under which citizen fought againſt citizen, friend againſt friend, and brother againſt brother. After an obſtinate ſtruggle with various ſucceſs, the king's party prevailed; and holding a convention of their whole ſtrength at Edinburg, on the 12th of July, they proclaimed the earl of Lenox regent. As Lenox was a man whom Elizabeth extremely approved, ſhe laboured to confirm his regency, by procuring a coalition of parties. But this was ineffectual: all that ſhe was able to accompliſh, was a ceſſation of hoſtilities till

till the 7th of April 1571; during which time a negotiation was ſet on foot by Elizabeth for Mary's enlargement; which, by the folly of the Scotch commiſſioners, who would conſent to nothing that tended to ſubvert, or even impair the king's authority, proved abortive.

The truce which the Engliſh queen had procured, was no ſooner expired, than party-rage flamed again as fiercely as ever. The queen's men labored ſtrongly to get poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, but they were continually diſappointed in their attempts and expoſed to freſh inconveniencies. At laſt, they made a bold attempt to ſurpriſe the king's party at Stirling. But though the alarm was great, the moſt conſiderable loſs on the king's ſide, was in the death of Lenox the regent; who was killed after he had ſurrendered.

The earl of Mar was then choſen to fill that office; and by the moderation, humanity, and diſintereſtedneſs of this nobleman, the voice of party was for ſome time ſilenced; and it was expected that a treaty with Elizabeth would ſoon take place, which would terminate very favourably for the captive queen. But Elizabeth had now diſcovered an affair, which proved extremely injurious to Mary's cauſe, and rendered the confinement of her perſon, for ſome time, abſolutely neceſſary. The duke of Norfolk, the greateſt and the beſt beloved ſubject then in England, though a profeſſed proteſtant, appeared to have joined with the pope, and the king of Spain, in order to introduce popery, and dethrone Elizabeth. He himſelf, in due ſeaſon, was to have been the leader of the revolt; and if the ſcheme ſucceeded, Mary, (privy to every circumſtance) was to be proclaimed queen both of England and Scotland, and then, as a reward for this great ſervice, ſhe was to marry him. Elizabeth had twice before diſcovered him to have been a partizan for Mary; but his intentions being then of no very criminal

criminal nature, she had forgiven him. But Norfolk's third offence, she thought was of a nature too daring and atrocious to merit a pardon. He was accordingly tried by his peers; and the charge of treason appearing fully against him, he suffered death for the crime.

Mary was now so strictly guarded, that even her domestics, whose number was abridged, were not suffered to be left alone with her. Yet in this unhappy situation, she imagined that a gleam of liberty still beamed upon her. But when she understood the following year, that Elizabeth had
1572. entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with Charles the 9th of France, and that the very mention of her name was therein omitted; she began to frame her mind to the rigour of her fate, and to think, as she declared, of no kingdom, but that of heaven. Whatever truth there might be in this declaration, it is very certain, that Mary was highly disgusted with this alliance between France and England; and whilst Elizabeth expected the greatest security from it, the horrid massacre of protestants, perpetrated a few months afterwards, and in which, at Paris alone, where it commenced, 10,000 were butchered, rendered the alliance, in her eyes, equally dangerous and disgraceful. All the protestant powers were greatly alarmed by this fatal event; and as Mary's party in Scotland did not wholly consist of papists, many, on this occasion, in fear for their religion, forsook the queen and adhered to the regent; who steered through the straits of faction with the greatest judgment. Had providence been pleased to have spared the life of this excellent nobleman, he might have destroyed the distinction of parties, and procured advantageous terms for the queen. But before the close of this year, he fell a prey to a lingering disease; and his death, which happened

appened on the 29th of October, was followed on the 27th of November, by that of the juſtly celebrated John Knox, whoſe memory every true Scotch proteſtant muſt neceſſarily revere. The earl Morton, who was choſen regent, immediately on the death of Mar, was preſent at the funeral of this zealous, fervent, unwearied divine, and pronounced his eulogium in theſe words, "Here lies he, who never feared the face of man."

On Morton's acceſſion to the regency, the queen's party, which daily declined, foreſeeing little ſucceſs from an oppoſition, gave up moſt of the fortified places in their poſſeſſion, and retired peacefully to their eſtates; which had been almoſt exhauſted, to little purpoſe, in the queen's ſervice. The civil wars, which had ſubſiſted five years in Scotland, were therefore now brought to a period; and Mary had not in any part of the kingdom the ſhadow of ſovereignty.

But in 1575, the domeſtic tranquility of the kingdom was in ſome danger of being diſturbed by another cauſe. Epiſcopacy was not wholly ſet aſide: One Andrew Melvil, a man of great learning and ſenſe, having juſt returned from Geneva to his native country, ſtarted a queſtion, in a public aſſembly, concerning the authority of chapters, and the election and order of Biſhops, and declaimed boldly againſt all church-authority not warranted by ſcripture. This raiſed a ferment in the nation. And though the regent had, for political ends, eſpouſed epiſcopacy, Melvil acted, and was ſupported, with ſo much reſolution and firmneſs, that he was obliged to aboliſh it, and give into Melvil's ſcheme of preſbytery.

From this time, Morton's regency grew exceedingly unpopular; and as he was a man of a diſpoſition, which delights in the inſolence of office, he created himſelf every day new enemies. The earl

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of Lenox ſoon appeared as his open foe; and during their ſquabbles for two years, James, the young king was bandied about from one party to another, according to the ſucceſs of either. But in 1580, James, being then in the 15th year of his age, eſcaped from his toils, aſſerted his authority, and terminated the quarrel. Lenox he received into favour; but deteſted Morton, who was devoted to deſtruction. Whilſt ſome plauſible pretext was to this end diligently ſought after; one captain Stewart accuſed him of being acceſſary, or (as his words were) *act and part* in the murder of lord Darnly. Morton for this offence was tried, found guilty of being a confident, though not an aſſiſtant in the murder; and for that crime beheaded in June 1581; notwithſtanding the queen of England made powerful interceſſion in his behalf. After ſentence was executed, the body of this nobleman, who was allowed to have poſſeſſed many virtues, and conſiderable abilities, was thrown by common porters into the burial place of criminals; and none of his friends, it ſeems, durſt attend it, or diſcover their affection by the leaſt ſymptoms of ſorrow.

Before the execution of this nobleman, Stewart, his accuſer, had been created earl of Arran; and now the friendſhip and favour of James was equally ſhared between him and Lenox. They ſoon engaged him in ſuch unpopular meaſures, as drew againſt him a conſpiracy of his principal nobility, although their aim was to bring the young king to a ſenſe of his error, in giving ſo much countenance to two ſuch unworthy favourites.

The tutor of Glamis ſeized the king at
1582. Ruthven, who finding his liberty not to be procured, either by complaints, expoſtulations, or threats, burſt into tears. "No matter, cry on, ſays Glamis fiercely, better for children to weep, than bearded men." In other matters, he was treated with great reſpect, though

though guarded at the ſame time with the ſtricteſt vigilance. Scotch hiſtorians call this enterprize *The Raid of Ruthven*. They committed Arran, the moſt obnoxious to them, inſtantly to priſon; but before they ventured any further, in Auguſt 1582, they intimidated James to ſignify an approbation of his preſent ſituation, to forbid by proclamation all attempts againſt the perſons concerned in the Raid of Ruthven; and to command Lenox to leave the kingdom before the end of September.

The fame of this exploit ſoon reached the ears of Mary, though in the ſolitude of a priſon. Anxious for the ſafety of her ſon, ſhe forgot her own diſtreſs; and ſummoning to her aid, all the mother, all the queen, ſhe wrote a long and an excellent letter to Elizabeth; beſeeching her not to abandon her ſon, or ſuffer him to feel any portion of that diſtreſs which had fallen to the lot of his unhappy mother. But before Elizabeth had any way interpoſed in the behalf of James, he eſcaped out of the hands of the conſpirators. But attaching himſelf ſoon after to Arran, with as much fondneſs as ever, that artful favourite perſuaded him to make the confederates acknowledge that they had been guilty of a fault, in taking and detaining him ſo long a priſoner. This James, in July 1583, urged them accordingly to acknowledge, promiſing, at the ſame time, that, on ſuch a confeſſion, they ſhould receive a pardon. But the nobles were too haughty, and too fearful of Arran's power to make ſuch a declaration. They fled into England, and were received into the protection of Elizabeth, who interceded ſo warmly in their favour, that they ſhortly afterwards were pardoned without reſerve, and returned to Scotland.

During the peace and good order which was preſerved in that kingdom, for the three years following, Elizabeth had been alarmed by no leſs than four

four conſpiracies againſt her life and government by Throgmorton, Somerville, Chrichton, and Parry; the laſt of whom had often got acceſs to her perſon; tho' a ſenſe of fear or of duty had prevented the execution of his horrid deſign, before he was brought to the gallows. Theſe repeated conſpiracies made the Engliſh exceedingly fearful for the life of their beloved ſovereign, and at the ſame time, uncommonly ſolicitous to preſerve it. And believing the unhappy Mary to have been privy to all theſe attempts, they entered into an aſſociation "to defend their queen againſt all her enemies foreign and domeſtic; and if violence ſhould be offered to her life, in favor of any pretender to the crown, they not only engaged never to allow or acknowledge the perſon or perſons, by or for whom ſuch a deteſtable act ſhould be committed, but vowed, in the preſence of the eternal God, to proſecute ſuch perſon or perſons to death, and to purſue them to their utter overthrow and extirpation."

This aſſociation was ſoon after ratified by law; when it was further enacted; "That if any rebellion ſhould be excited in the kingdom, or any thing attempted to the hurt of her majeſty's perſon, by or for any perſon pretending a title to the crown, the queen ſhould empower twenty-four perſons, by a commiſſion under the great ſeal, to examine into, and paſs ſentence upon ſuch offences; and after judgment given, a proclamation ſhould be iſſued, declaring the perſons whom they found guilty, excluded from any right to the crown; and her majeſty's ſubjects might lawfully purſue every one of them to death, with all their aiders and abettors: And if any deſign againſt the life of the queen ſhould take effect, the perſons, by or for whom ſuch a deteſtable act was executed, and their iſſues, being any wiſe aſſenting or privy to the ſame, ſhould

hould be diſabled for ever from pretending to he crown, and be purſued to death in the like manner."

All this was evidently aimed againſt Mary, who ad lately been removed to Tuthbury. It was in er confinement at this place, that ſhe endured he moſt cutting affliction. Here ſhe received a etter from her ſon, (who had from his cradle been utored to conſider her as the vileſt of women) in which, he refuſed to acknowledge her to be queen f Scotland; informed her that his affairs and hers ere intirely ſeparate; and that in the latter he hould take no concern. This cruel letter threw er into unſpeakable agonies. When ſhe had a little ecovered herſelf, ſhe exclaimed, "Let not my llies treat him any longer as a king; he holds hat dignity by my conſent; and if a ſpeedy re- entance does not appeaſe my juſt reſentment, I ill load him with a parent's curſe; and ſurrender y crown, with all my pretenſions, to one, who ill receive them with gratitude, and defend them ith vigor." But this raving was as vague and impotent, on the part of the mother, as the ehavior of the ſon was ungenerous and inhuman.

Elizabeth took advantage of the preſent diſpo- tion of James, to form a league with him, which as accordingly concluded on the 5th of July, 1586. t was offenſive and defenſive; and both parties ound themſelves to defend the proteſtant religion, hich, conſidering the danger it had lately been xpoſed to, was mentioned to be the foundation f the treaty.

All theſe preparations render it extremely pro- able, that Elizabeth's council had reſolved to put death the Scottiſh queen, on the very firſt oc- aſion that ſhould be given. The laſt ſtatute was eculiarly ſevere againſt her. The words *by or for*, hich had been ſo carefully inſerted therein, was a trap,

a trap, from which it was impoſſible that Mary could ever avoid. It made her very life a forfeiture for any deſign, which, without her knowledge, might be formed by ſome zealous or mad-headed partizan. And it was not long ere ſuch a circumſtance, thro' the inconſiderate affection of the Engliſh papiſts actually tranſpired. This is known in Engliſh hiſtory by the name of *Babington's conſpiracy*.

One Savage, a papiſt of the moſt fiery zeal, believing the bull of pope Pius the 5th againſt Elizabeth, to be really dictated by the Holy Ghoſt, concluded that to deſtroy the life of an excommunicated heretic, would be to perform a very acceptable ſervice to Heaven. Accordingly he bound himſelf by a ſolemn vow to kill Elizabeth, and imparted his purpoſe to one Anthony Babington of Derbyſhire, a perſon of an handſome fortune and many amiable qualities, but withal a bigotted papiſt, and violent in his attachment to Mary, to whom he had been recommended when in France by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow. He exhorted Savage to be ſecret and ſteady in his deſign; and he himſelf in the mean time opened the affair to Windſor, Tetchbourne, Barnwell, Saliſbury, Tilney, Travers, Charnock, Dun, Gage, Jones and Polly, all perſons of conſiderable fortunes. Savage mean while had taken care to inform his friend Ballard. In June 1586 they met and held many conſultations. Savage with Tetchbourne, Abington, Barnwell, Charnock and Tilney were to murder Elizabeth. Babington himſelf undertook to reſcue Mary, while Saliſbury and the reſt were to excite the papiſts in the ſeveral counties of England in her behalf, and at the ſame time effectually to cruſh the proteſtants, an invaſion was to be made from Spain. They gloried ſo much in their ſcheme, that to perpetuate the memory of it

Babington had a picture drawn containing the portraits of the ſix aſſaſſins, with that of himſelf in the middle incircled by the motto, Quorſum hæc, illo properantibus?

But though the conſpirators appear by this wanton piece of vanity, not to have miſtruſted the fidelity of any of their colleagues, Polly from time to time acquainted Walſingham, Elizabeth's ſecretary, with every circumſtance of their infernal ſcheme. Elizabeth ſaw the very picture and knew the face of Barnwell. It was Walſingham's intention, in order to diſcover the bottom of the plot, to wait till it was almoſt ripe for execution; but the queen, unwilling to endanger her ſubjects, or to tempt her own fate any further, iſſued out orders to cruſh it by arreſting the authors. Accordingly Ballard, who was the principal and moſt active agent, was firſt apprehended; on the notice of which the others attempted to eſcape; but they were all, except Windſor, ſoon ſeized in ſeveral parts of the kingdom; brought to trial, and executed as traitors.

Upon the firſt notice of this conſpiracy, Mary, who was ſuſpected, had been removed to Fotheringay-caſtle in Northamptonſhire. Babington, in his trial, confeſſed that he had both written to, and received many letters from her on the ſubject of the plot, and that ſhe approved of every part. This declaration was confirmed by her own ſecretaries, Naué and Curle, who declared that they had read and ſent ſuch letters by her orders. The Engliſh council, therefore, determined to try her upon the act which they had lately made in their aſſociation; and a commiſſion was accordingly iſſued for forty peers and five judges to try, and paſs ſentence upon Mary, daughter and heir of James the 5th of Scotland, commonly called queen of Scots, and dowager of France. They arrived

at Fotheringay on the 11th of October, and presented a letter from Elizabeth to the Scottish queen, which commanded her to submit to a trial. Whilſt the letter was read to Mary, ſhe appeared perfectly compoſed, and though ſurprized at the meſſage, was no way unmindful of her dignity.

In the moſt ſolemn manner ſhe proteſted her innocence, and complained that every danger, which at any time threatened Elizabeth, was always imputed to her. She declared that ſhe was a queen, as well as Elizabeth, an abſolute, independent queen, and therefore ſhe wondered that Elizabeth ſhould command her, as a ſubject, to ſubmit to the laws of England, which did not extend to her, which ſhe was not acquainted with, and from which ſhe had never reaped the leaſt benefit. Finally, ſhe declared that Engliſh ſubjects were not her peers, and therefore that ſhe would not be tried by them; proteſting that ſhe would ſuffer a thouſand deaths rather than own herſelf to be the ſubject of any prince on earth. She offered however to clear her conduct before a full parliament, or before the commiſſioners themſelves, provided they were not conſidered as her judges. At length an argument urged by Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, that, "by avoiding a trial, ſhe would injure her reputation and deprive herſelf of a fair opportunity of ſetting her innocence in the cleareſt light," prevailed upon her to comply with the command of Elizabeth; who Hatton further aſſured her, would be rejoiced to find that the accuſations againſt her were groundleſs.

Mary, whoſe reſolution was thus ſtaggered by the anxious deſire of vindicating her honour, attended to the charge which the queen's attorney and ſolicitor opened againſt her. Copies of her letters to Babington were produced, together with Babington's confeſſion, and the declarations of her two

two ſecretaries. Serjeant Gaudy therefore charged her with knowing, approving and conſenting to Babington's conſpiracy. In reply to which, having firſt lamented her unhappy ſituation,---a weak defenceleſs woman,---obliged, without the aſſiſtance of council, or the advice of a ſingle friend, to plead her own defence---; having aſſerted, with great truth and juſtice, that theſe were privileges allowed even to the meaneſt criminals, ſhe again declared her ignorance of every tittle of Babington's plot. She intimated that his confeſſion might have been extorted by the rack; and the ſame in regard to her ſecretaries, with whom ſhe deſired to be confronted. She cited the commiſſioners to prove from her papers, which were in their cuſtody, any thing in ſupport of their charge under her own hand-writing. To nothing elſe would ſhe give credit; for her cyphers ſhe ſaid might eaſily be counterfeited. Having thus denied the charge, ſhe owned, that, during her long confinement, ſhe had often, with an earneſtneſs natural to an human being, ſolicited her friends to procure her liberty; and if this were imputed to her as a crime, ſhe muſt plead guilty.

The court after having ſat ſeveral days, adjourned to the 25th of October at the ſtar-chamber in Weſtminſter. Here Naué and Curle having again ſworn to the letters and copies, which had been produced, the commiſſioners proceeded to paſs ſentence. They declared her "to be acceſſary to Babington's conſpiracy, and to have imagined divers matters, tending to the hurt, death, and deſtruction of Elizabeth, contrary to the expreſs words of the ſtatute, made for the ſecurity of the queen's life."

It muſt be owned that in conducting this trial there were many irregularities. Babington and his aſſociates might have been ſpared for a few weeks,

in order to have confronted her; and Naué and Curle ſhould have appeared on the trial; but in ſhort, the Engliſh appear to have been bent on the deſtruction of Mary, and to have ſtuck at no proceedings however irregular, which tended any way to compleat it.

The parliament, which met on the 29th of October, approved the ſentence; and publiſhing a declaration, that it did not in the leaſt derogate from the title and honor of king James, they addreſſed her majeſty to put it in execution. Elizabeth, though in all probability as deſirous of Mary's death, as thoſe who petitioned her on the account, ſeveral times evaded their requeſt. At laſt, after ſeveral of her nobility had thrown themſelves on their knees, and conjured her to conſider that the life of Mary was incompatible with her own ſafety, and both the civil and religious liberty of her kingdom, ſhe diſmiſſed the farce and yielded to their entreaties. Daviſon, who had been appointed ſecretary of ſtate, received the death warrant, which ſhe laboured afterwards to make the people imagine, was executed without her knowledge, and contrary to her intention; and in the ſequel ſhe puniſhed him for diſobedience, in delivering it to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent, to whom it was directed, and who were ordered forthwith to put it in force.

The two earls, accompanied by the high-ſheriff of the county, arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February 1587, and warned the queen of her approaching fate. Several feeble attempts to ſave her, had been made by France, Spain, and her ſon James; but Mary had placed no confidence in ſuch interceſſions, knowing the envious diſpoſition of her rival Elizabeth, ſhe had prepared herſelf for death, from the firſt moment that the parliament had approved the ſentence. When ſhe was therefore

herefore informed, that ſhe muſt die the next morn-ing, it is ſaid ſhe heard the cruel mandate without emotion. "That ſoul, ſays ſhe, is not worthy of the joys of heaven, which repines becauſe the body muſt endure the ſtroke of the executioner; and though I did not expect that the queen of England would ſet the firſt example of violating the ſacred perſon of a ſovereign prince, I willingly ſubmit to that which providence has decreed to be my lot." Having uttered this ſentence, ſhe placed her hand upon a bible, which caſually lay by her, and proteſted her ignorance of Babington's con-ſpiracy.

When Kent and Shrewſbury had withdrawn, her domeſtics flocked around her, and teſtified their affection and ſorrow by a flood of tears. In the utmoſt ſerenity ſhe endeavoured to compoſe and comfort them. She then fell on her knees, im-plored heaven, now that her ſufferings were ap-proaching towards a period, ſhe might receive aid to endure what remained with decency, and with fortitude. She ſpent the reſt of the evening in ſettling her affairs. With her own hand ſhe wrote her will, in which ſhe bequeathed her money, cloaths, and jewels, among her ſervants, accord-ing to their reſpective rank and merit. She ate her uſual ſupper, and diſcourſed, during the whole time, with chearfulneſs. At her wonted hour ſhe retired to reſt, and enjoyed it calmly a few hours. In the morning, after ſome time ſpent in devotion, ſhe dreſt herſelf moſt elegantly in mourning. At her neck, by a pomander chain, hung an agnus Dei; at her girdle appeared her beads, and in her hand an ivory crucifix. Thus attired ſhe waited calmly for the meſſengers of death; who came about eight o'clock and conducted her to the ſcaffold. After much entreaty ſhe had prevailed on the two earls to allow ſir Andrew Melvil, the

maſter of her houſhold, together with her phyſician, her ſurgeon, two men and two maid ſervants, to attend her and perform their laſt offices. The ſcaffold, which was erected in the great-hall, about two feet from the ground, and its furniture, were covered with black. She mounted the ſteps with chearfulneſs, ſurveyed the block and the axe unmoved, and having croſſed herſelf, ſhe with great compoſure ſat down in a chair. She liſtened to the warrant for her execution, which was then read, with ſuch an air as ſignified, that her thoughts were otherways engaged. Having been denied a prieſt ſhe refuſed to join in devotion with the dean of Peterborough; but falling on her knees, ſhe repeated a prayer in latin. After which, raiſing her voice, ſhe prayed in engliſh for the proſperity of the catholic church, and her ſon, and for Elizabeth. Then lifting up, and kiſſing the crucifix, ſhe thus addreſſed it, "As thy arms, O Chriſt, were extended upon the croſs, ſo, with the out-ſtretched arms of thy mercy, receive me, and pardon my tranſgreſſions." Having finiſhed her devotions, ſhe ordered her women to prepare her for the block; and the two executioners rudely offering to aſſiſt, ſhe gently bade them to forbear, ſaying ſhe had not been uſed to undreſs thus publicly, or to have ſuch perſons as they were, for valets and the grooms of her chamber. Her gown and doublet being taken off, ſhe embraced all her ſervants and ſmilingly bade them farewell. A linen handkerchief was tied round her eyes, and then Mary, with the calm and undaunted fortitude which became a Scotch ſovereign, laid her head on the block, and began to rehearſe the 31ſt pſalm. And having repeated the 5th verſe, "Into thine hands I commit my ſpirit; thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of truth" which was the ſignal given; whilſt one executioner held her hands, the other at the

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ſecond ſtroke cut off her head. And holding it up, ſtill ſpouting her blood, the dean cried out, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies," but every ſpectator, except him and the earl of Kent, being drowned in tears, that nobleman alone anſwered, amen.

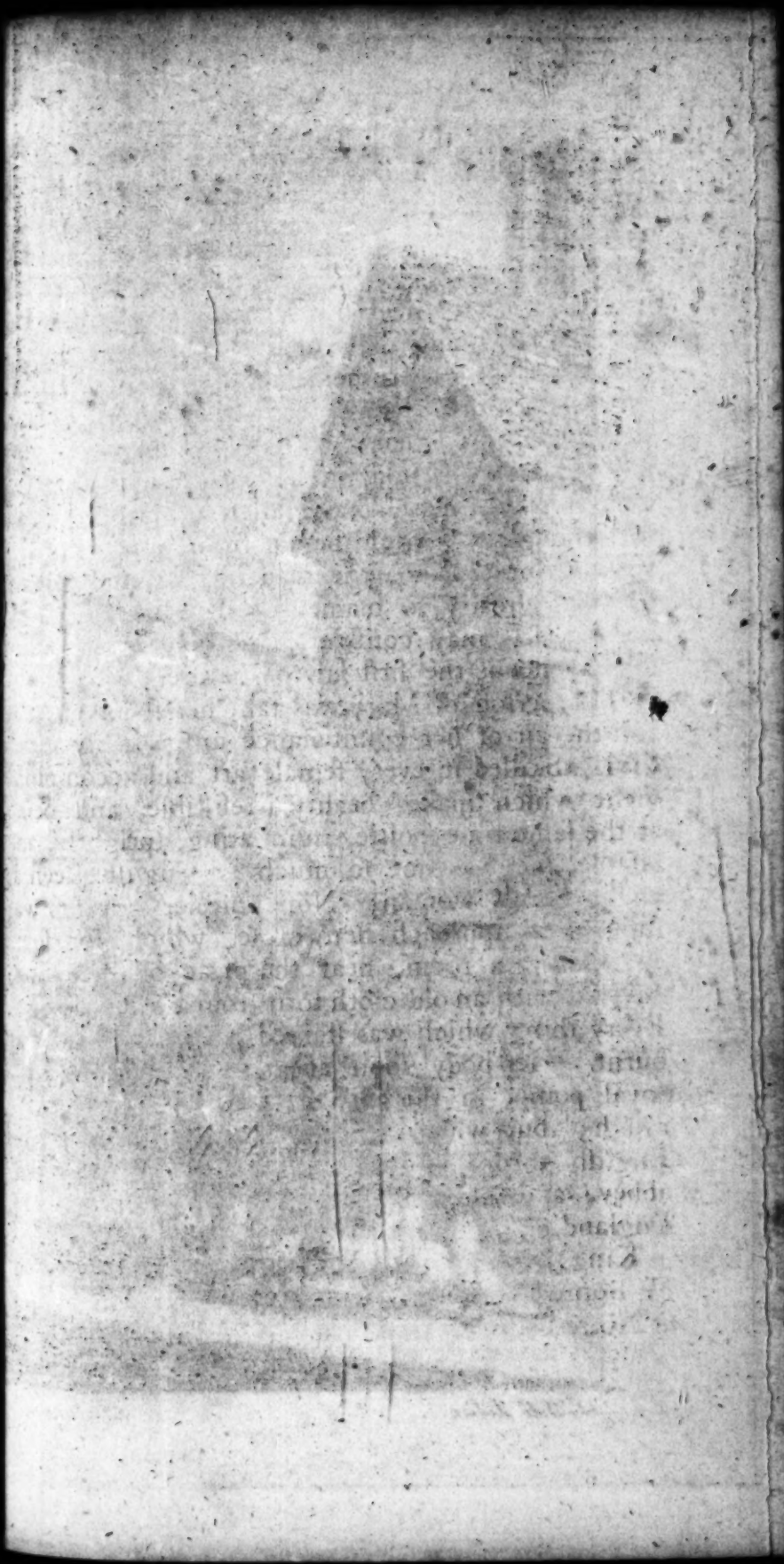
Thus fell in the 46th year of her age and the 18th of her captivity Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland and of France, purſuant to a ſentence, the juſtice of which muſt ever be problematical. Party writers have given her the moſt oppoſite characters. Some aſcribe to her the poſſeſſion of all virtues; whilſt others impute to her all the vices, with which human nature can poſſibly abound. But her real character is neither to be found in the laviſhing encomiums of the one, nor in the virulent cenſures of the other. To attribute all the calamities which befel her, to misfortune, would be as faulty, as to place them wholly to the account of imprudence. She was both imprudent and unfortunate; particularly in her marriage with Darnly. Her attachment to Rizio was beneath the dignity of a queen. However brutally ſhe might have been treated by Darnly, honor, prudence, and juſtice called upon her not to countenance his murderers. Whether the letters found in the ſilver box were genuine or not, or whether ſhe was actually the contriver of her huſband's murder; few have attempted to palliate the atrocious crime of marrying Bothwell, the very man whom the nation in general ſuſpected of having committed the barbarous deed, and who, on his death-bed, proteſted that their ſuſpicions were not unjuſt. For this ſhe deſervedly loſt the love of her ſubjects; who deprived her of her crown in a manner which amply ſhewed that this fatal ſtep, which includes her ſtrong attachment to popery, was the occaſion of it; their own diſintereſtedneſs

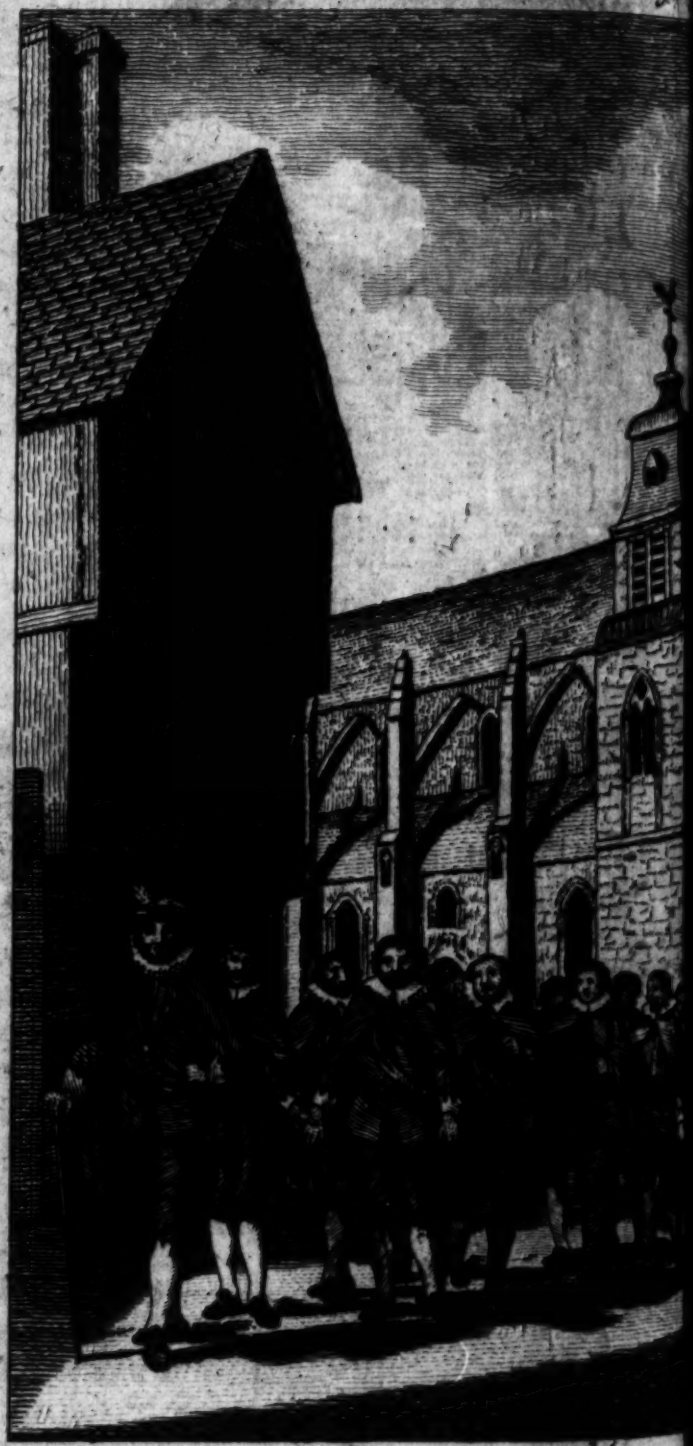
appearing in chooſing her ſon to ſucceed her, at a time when they might eaſily have thrown the government into a different channel. The legality of the ſentence by which ſhe was executed, has been already called in queſtion; but as it is impoſſible to exculpate Mary from a privity and concurrence to ſome of the many plots againſt Elizabeth, perhaps the policy of government neceſſarily dictated ſuch a cruel meaſure. If the caſe be changed, by ſuppoſing Mary's ſchemes to have taken place, there is little reaſon to imagine any other, than that Elizabeth would herſelf have fallen a ſacrifice; therefore though one would be far from approving ſuch rigorous precaution, the reader if he finds himſelf diſpoſed greatly to blame the Engliſh queen for her ſeverity, may conſider, that in every ſituation, ſelf-defence is the firſt law of nature.

The perſon of Mary was tall, her ſhape elegant, and the air of her countenance unſpeakably beautiful. Skilled in every female art and accompliſhment which makes beauty irreſiſtible, and being at the ſame time polite, inſinuating, ſprightly, and affable, ſhe was not ſo much an auguſt queen as an agreeable woman. None of her ſervants was ſuffered to approach her corpſe, which for ſome days lay in a room, near the place of execution, covered with an old cloth torn from a billiard-table. Every thing which was ſtained with her blood was burnt. Her body ſoon after was interred, with royal pomp, in the cathedral church of Peterborough; but when her ſon James aſcended the Engliſh throne it was removed to Weſtminſter-abbey, and depoſited amongſt the monarchs of England.

King James was her only iſſue by Darnly; and by Bothwell, ſhe had a daughter who was a nun at Notre Dame de Soiſſons.

James





S. Wale delin.

T. Simpson

James knew his own intereſt too well, to quarrel with the Engliſh for their cruelty to his mother: At firſt indeed he bluſtered a little; but as Elizabeth pretended that Davidſon her ſecretary, whom ſhe drove from her preſence and fined in 10,000l. had executed the warrant without her privity, nay contrary to her expreſs order and intention, he admitted this excuſe and appeared perfectly ſatisfied. And that he really was ſo, is evident from his firm attachment to Elizabeth during the dangerous year 1588, in which James, his nobility, and his clergy, in imitation of the Iſraelites of old, entered into a ſolemn covenant for the defence of the proteſtant religion againſt every enemy, foreign or domeſtic.

But previous to this covenant James had performed an exploit truly magnificent and royal. He had long obſerved the mortal, and almoſt hereditary feuds which ſubſiſted among many of the greateſt families in his kingdom. And from his natural love of peace, from his high regard to prerogative, and from anxiety for the welfare of his kingdom, which their violent differences tended not a little to weaken, he exerted a noble effort to reconcile them. The parties at variance met each other by his order at the palace of Holyrood-houſe; where at a ſplendid entertainment he had provided for them, he prevailed with theſe haughty and adverſe chiefs to ceaſe their diſcord and mutually to promiſe him the moſt perfect harmony. From thence, with James at their head, by his deſire, they paraded in pairs, each hand in hand with his enemy, thro' the principal Streets of Edinburg. At the public croſs, he had prepared for them a collation of wine and ſweetmeats, and there they drank to each other reciprocal forgiveneſs and future friendſhip. From thence they returned in the ſame order, amidſt the continual acclamations of the people, who

were elated beyond meaſure at a ſpectacle ſo unuſual, and who cheriſhed the fondeſt wiſhes for the ſincerity of this deſirable reconciliation.

James having thus united the ſtrength of his kingdom, kept his ſubjects under arms, to hinder the ſpaniards from landing in an hoſtile manner in his dominions; though after their *armada*, which they arogantly called *invincible*, had been defeated by the Engliſh fleet, James with great humanity received upwards of 700, who in returning home round Scotland had ſuffered ſhipwreck on that dangerous and unknown coaſt.

England being freed from the moſt terrible apprehenſions, by the deſtruction of the armada, Elizabeth in the warmeſt manner thanked James for his ſteady attachment to her, during that important criſis. And James having now alſo nothing to fear from Philip (to whoſe flattering promiſes, he had replied that he expected no other favor from him than, as Polyphemus promiſed Ulyſſes, to be made his laſt morſel;) he made overtures of marriage to the eldeſt daughter of Frederick the ſecond, king of Denmark. But by the blunders of his miniſters, who as ſome ſay were bribed by Elizabeth, and wilfully perplexed the affair; Frederick, believing that he was trifled with, gave that princeſs to the duke of Brunſwick. James, however, who was bent on an alliance with that family, paid his addreſſes to the ſecond daughter, Anne; and the marriage, notwithſtanding the efforts of Elizabeth to prevent it, was accordingly agreed upon and performed by proxy. The fleet, in which the princeſs embarked for Scotland, being, by a violent ſtorm, driven back to Norway; and tidings coming, that probably it would not be in a condition to put to ſea again, before the next ſpring, James, who with the impatience of a lover had expected her arrival, reſolving not to be baffled

a ſecond

a ſecond time, fitted out a few ſhips, and with a gallantry extremely oppoſite to his general character, ſailed in queſt of his bride.

Arriving at Upſal, where ſhe then reſided, he on the 23d. of November eſpouſed her; and after ſpending ſeveral months in a round of pleaſures at the court of Denmark, James and his queen, on the 1ſt of May 1590, arrived ſafely at Leigh. The people, who during the king's abſence had preſerved the moſt orderly behavior, hailed their ſovereign with joyous affection. At the ſolemnity of the queen's coronation, which on the 17th of the ſame month was conducted with great pomp, it is worth remarking the contempt into which epiſcopacy had fallen, that no biſhop was preſent; the moſt material parts of the ceremony being performed by Robert Bruce, a preſbyterian miniſter of great reputation. The queen made her entry into Edinburg by the weſtern gate; and in her pompous parade to the palace, through the principal ſtreets of the city, forty-two young gentlemen, richly clad after the Mooriſh faſhion, danced before her.

At court, for two months, all was mirth and feſtivity. But when the Daniſh nobles and gentry, who accompanied the queen in her voyage, had taken their leave, inſtead of the delightful calm which James had fondly but fooliſhly imagined would enſue, there ſpeedily aroſe a hurricane of the worſt evils with which an ariſtocratical conſtitution can poſſibly abound. Thro' the king's unceaſing paſſion for pomp, pleaſures, and ſports;---thro' the inſtant inforcement of his own haſty reſolves, and the indolence in executing the maturer ones of his council;---thro' the diſregard of real crimes, and his unremitting cruelty in puniſhing the imaginary ones of witchcraft and magic, in which he firmly believed, and on account of which

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ſome perſon or other continually ſuffered;---and thro' his general credulity, the conceit of his own abilities, and his want of ſterling courage:---The clergy became diſcontented, the nobility were divided, the barons grew poor, and the commons were oppreſſed. Heavy taxes were levied, and badly applied; and as this was a circumſtance particularly exaſperating, laws were broken, proclamations diſobeyed, diſaffection followed, and rapine and murder became the conſequence.

1591. Amongſt the many perſons executed by James for their ſuppoſed necromancy, ſome had accuſed Francis Stewart, created by James, earl of Bothwell, as making frequent inquiries of them concerning the king's fate; while others, having loſt their reaſon by the tortures to which they were put, declared, that at the inſtigation of that nobleman, they had raiſed the ſtorms which had alarmed his majeſty, and endangered the life of his queen. Bothwell, on this evidence, was lodged in priſon. From thence, by intoxicating his keepers, he ſoon made his eſcape; and being of a ſpirit too turbulent and haughty to brook ſuch an indignity, the ſuffering of which he attributed to the artifices of his enemy Maitland the chancellor, he formed a deſign of becoming maſter both of him and his majeſty. In this deſign, which he put in execution on the 27th of December, he had certainly ſucceeded, if the citizens of Edinburg, alarmed at the uproar in the palace, to which, through a private paſſage, he had gained acceſs by the treachery of ſome of the king's attendants, had not run ſpeedily to their arms; their timely interpoſition delivered both James and his chancellor from imminent danger; and the followers of Bothwell being routed, he himſelf, under the cloud of night, with ſome difficulty made his eſcape.

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The bold earl fled precipitately towards the north; and James ordered the earl of Huntley to purſue him and his followers, with all the wrath of vengeance. In ſuch commiſſions as theſe, a general officer had the opportunity of gratifying his private revenge; and Huntley, being at perſonal enmity with the earl of Murray, under pretence of executing a part of his commiſſion, conſumed the houſe, and took away the life of that good nobleman, who was eſteemed the handſomeſt and moſt accompliſhed man in Scotland; he was alſo heir to Regent Murray, whoſe memory was ſtill affectionately revered by the people. They therefore roſe tumultuouſly, ſhook off all reſpect for men in power, and a report (ſome ſay not without foundation) being induſtriouſly circulated, that this murder was perpetrated with the connivance and even by order of the king, who, it was publickly talked, was jealous of him, becauſe the queen a few days before had ſaid many things in his favor; they likewiſe openly inſulted his majeſty.

Though the magiſtrates prevented their doing any miſchief, they threatened James ſo much that he thought fit to leave Edinburg, and to retire for ſome time to Glaſgow. But this popular clamor ſoon ſubſided: Huntley ſurrendered himſelf to juſtice; but whether James was really an acceſſary, or whether from the power of the chancellor with whom Huntley was cloſely connected, he was not ſo much as tried; and Murray's death, notwithſtanding the dangerous appearance but a few days before, paſſed off, unrevenged, and unregarded, ſo fickle are the commonalty.

The king had now loſt much of his popularity. His toleration of papiſts inſpired 1592.
the clergy with a belief that he inclined to popery. Indeed they ſaw that he too much favoured the popiſh faction; therefore they thought that this

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was the time to inſiſt on the repeal of thoſe ſevere laws, which, in 1584, a venal miniſtry had enacted, and which were then evidently framed to overturn the conſtitution as well as the diſcipline of their reformed church. To procure theſe acts of parliament, the inventors had recourſe to the moſt illegal methods. In the firſt place, by oaths of ſecrecy from the lords of articles they were carefully concealed from the knowledge of the clergy themſelves; again, when ſome of the miniſters, who had received hints of what was tranſacting behind the curtain, had ordered one of their number to inform the king of their apprehenſions, he was ſeized at the palace-gate and hurried away to priſon; and further, ſuch as it was imagined would oppoſe the bills, were detained on various pretences, or refuſed admittance. By theſe iniquitous means, it was then enacted "that refuſing to acknowledge the juriſdiction of the privy-council;---pretending an exemption from the authority of the civil courts; ---attempting to diminiſh the rights and privileges of any of the three eſtates in parliament, were actions which amounted to high-treaſon. The holding aſſemblies, whether civil or eccleſiaſtical, without the king's permiſſion or appointment; and uttering either privately, or publicly, in ſermons or in declamations, any falſe and ſcandalous reports againſt the king, his anceſtors or miniſters, were pronounced in like manner to be capital crimes."

As the pulpit, and church judicatories, had ever ſince the reformation been eſteemed ſacred; and as the clergy had, in the former, uſed unbounded liberty, and, in the latter, abſolute and independent juriſdiction, they conſidered theſe ſtatutes as moſt galling fetters on their privileges, and therefore they determined to ſeize the firſt opportunity to ſtrike them off. They juſtly thought that no ſeaſon could

could be more favorable than the preſent; for beſides the unpopularity of the king, Bothwell was ſtill in the kingdom, encouraged and ſupported by the enemies of the chancellor, whoſe conduct had rendered him extremely odious to all ranks of people. Thus circumſtanced, James was under a neceſſity of giving way to his clergy, who puſhed their demands with great vigor. So that in a very little time all the hated acts reſpecting their order in 1584, were either totally aboliſhed and reſcinded, or explained in ſuch a manner, as gave general ſatisfaction. And the ſame parliament, at the expreſs inſtance of the clergy, tho' much againſt the inclination of the king (whoſe high notions of prerogative, made him exceedingly averſe to any ſyſtem which was calculated to maintain the liberty of the ſubject) eſtabliſhed in the moſt ample manner, general aſſemblies, provincial ſynods, preſbyteries, kirk ſeſſions, in ſhort, every branch of preſbyterian church government. In this parliament alſo, Bothwell, who had endeavoured to ſeize the king at Falkland, was attainted, together with all his adherents.

But a conſpiracy was now diſcovered which ſtruck a general alarm throughout the kingdom. Philip of Spain, piqued, but not diſheartened at the deſtruction of his arrogantly-ſtiled invincible armada, had conceived a deſign (being convinced of Elizabeth's ſuperiority at ſea) of invading England, through Scotland; at the ſame time to divide the force of the Engliſh queen, and to diſtract her councils, he intended to fit out a ſquadron which was to make a deſcent on Cornwall. For this end, his emiſſaries were making a powerful party amongſt the papiſts in Scotland. As George Ker, brother to the lord Newbottle, had been eaſily gained, and was exceedingly buſy in Philip's intereſt, the zeal with which he acted, laid him open to ſuſpicion, and

and he was ſeized juſt on the point of his embarking for Spain. His papers being ſearched, there appeared amongſt them ſeveral blanks ſigned by the earls of Angus, Huntley, and Arrol. Ker being put to the torture, confeſſed that theſe blanks were for the ſervice of Philip, and that he, together with Crichton and Tyrie, two jeſuits, had orders from theſe noblemen to fill them up with offers of their moſt faithful ſervices to that monarch; directing him to land his forces either in Galloway or at the mouth of the Clyde; promiſing that they ſhould there be joined by them and the other catholics in the kingdom; and that then, having firſt re-eſtabliſhed popery in Scotland, they would proceed to ſubdue England. His confeſſion was afterwards confirmed by Barclay of Ladyland, and ſir David Graham of Fintry, whom he had accuſed as being privy to the whole ſcheme.

On this diſcovery, the miniſters of Edinburg were uncommonly alarmed, and particularly active. Their great apprehenſions, and their zeal for proteſtantiſm, hurried them into actions, which, if not inſolent, (as ſome have called them) were however unbecoming. Inſtead of petitioning, which was their duty, they ventured to preſcribe, and almoſt inſiſted, that no conſideration ſhould induce the king to pardon the authors of ſo deteſtable a treaſon. James, though highly offended at this activity in his clergy, which he conſtrued to be over-officious, and an encroachment on his prerogative, was obliged to temporize, and adopt their plan. He marched in perſon againſt the three earls, who, neglecting his ſummons to ſurrender themſelves, had taken refuge in the highlands. Having placed garriſons in all their caſtles, and obliged their vaſſals, as well as all the barons in the counties thro' which he paſſed, to ſubſcribe a bond of loyalty to himſelf, and of firm adherence

to

to the reformed religion, he left behind him the earls of Athol and Marſhall, as his lieutenants, and returned home. He then tried Graham, who being by his peers found guilty of miſpriſion of treaſon, was beheaded. But Ker eſcaped from his confinement; and as the ferment in the nation was now pretty much ſubſided, James, according to his uſual indulgence to papiſts, made uſe of no methods towards bringing him to juſtice, any more than the three earls by whom he had been employed.

Mean time he proceeded againſt Bothwell (who was a proteſtant, and who had lately appeared within a mile of Edinburg at the head of 400 horſe, but was repulſed by the citizens of Edinburg) with all that rancour, which hatred when mingled with fear can inſpire an ungenerous breaſt. He had retired to the north of England, from whence, at the inſtance of James, he was ferretted out by Elizabeth, who was nevertheleſs highly diſpleaſed with every ſtep of the king's late conduct. She indeed conſidered the neglect of James in puniſhing the popiſh lords as a tacit acknowledgement that he approved their deſigns; and ſhe had joined the wiſhes of the people in adviſing him to hang them up as examples of terror for the future. All the rigor however which James could be perſuaded to exerciſe towards them, was, to drop all proſecution and enquiry reſpecting their correſpondence with Philip, and to allow them the alternative of either renouncing the errors of popery, or of quitting the kingdom. But the rebels, with the greateſt audacity, refuſed to perform either, continued openly their treaſonable correſpondence, and bade him defiance. But at laſt, to wipe off Elizabeth's ſuſpicion, James proceeded againſt them ſo rigorouſly, that they were driven out of the kingdom.

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The King's reluctance to perform this neceſſary meaſure, together with the unſeemly lenity, which on other occaſions he had manifeſted towards the papiſts in general, whilſt he was a profeſſed proteſtant, and had actually inliſted himſelf a diſputant with the church of Rome in defence of his faith, makes his conduct, in religious affairs, till the motives are diſcloſed, appear wholly enigmatical. James, after his arrival at years of maturity, aimed at an exceſs of refinement, in which, he uſed to ſay, the great ſecret of king-craft conſiſted. Knowing himſelf to be the undoubted heir to the throne of England, and that the proteſtants there would moſt readily receive him as ſuch; yet as he knew that Spain, and other popiſh powers, might, on the deceaſe of Elizabeth, make ſome plauſible pretences alſo to that crown, he choſe not to irritate the whole body of papiſts, by puniſhing ſeverely a few individuals, how much-ſoever they might deſerve it, leſt, in caſe of any oppoſition to his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, they ſhould unite againſt him; but, on the contrary, that by treating them with lenity beforehand, they would, on ſuch an oppoſition, unanimouſly ſupport him. This explanation will ſerve to unriddle the ſeeming abſurdity of the king's former, as well as ſubſequent conduct, both towards proteſtants, and papiſts. But, unhappily, the genius of the times was ſuch, that the king's theory would by no means admit of practice; while he favoured one party, he excited jealouſy and a turbulent ſpirit in the other; and by endeavoring to acommodate himſelf to the perſuaſions of each, he ſatisfied neither, but being entangled by his own artifice, he was alternately either duped, or bullied by both.

Towards the cloſe of this year, Both-
1595. well, harraſſed in every quarter, and in his

his diſtreſs deſerted by his followers, fled for ſafety firſt to France and then to Spain and Italy; where embracing popery, the future incidents of his life in thoſe kingdoms (for James would never ſuffer him to return, or hearken to any overtures in his behalf) were diſtinguiſhed only by the meaneſt debauchery. Near this period, alſo, the king loſt his chancellor; and as he really loved him and was fond on every occaſion to exerciſe the powers of his pen, he honoured him with an elegy, and which, for that age, is far from a contemptible performance.

As Elizabeth was now well advanced in years, James began to reflect, that 1596. ſhould her death happen whilſt he was at variance with Angus and the other two popiſh lords, who were ſurrounded during their reſidence abroad by Philip's emiſſaries; they might join the Spaniſh king, and, at the ſame time, make a diviſion amongſt his own ſubjects, in order to prevent his ſucceſſion; he therefore permitted their wives to occupy their houſes, and enjoy the revenues of their eſtates. And as this indulgence inſpired them with ſentiments of the king's returning favor, they accompliſhed his wiſhes by preſenting a petition to him, in which they implored his licence to return to the kingdom and reſide on their eſtates; offering to abjure popery and give ample ſecurity for their future good behavior. James, who had a compliance with this petition very much at heart, haſtily aſſembled a convention of the eſtates; and as in this caſe he took care that but few, and ſuch as were moſt devoted to his will ſhould be preſent, he acquainted them with the ſubject for their deliberation, and the petition was granted.

But previous to this, James, who had in vain endeavored to borrow money of Elizabeth, found himſelf

himſelf under the neceſſity to diveſt himſelf of his natural ſloth, and to apply for ſome time, to buſineſs. He was really ſo poor, that, to raiſe a ſupply for his late expeditions againſt Bothwell, and the popiſh lords, he had been forced to pawn his jewels. His exchequer was now at the loweſt ebb; and as his exceſſive love of expenſive pleaſures, and his many needy dependants, made him unfit to be truſted with even his own money; he ſeems to have been ſenſible of it, and to have ſeen the neceſſity of committing the care of his finances to ſome perſons of known abilities, worth, and frugality. He therefore pitched upon Alexander lord Urquhart, preſident of the college of juſtice, Walter Stewart, commendator of Blantyre, and lord privy-ſeal, David Carnegy of Colluthy, John Lindſey, miniſter of Marnmore, James Elphingſton of Innernity, Thomas Hamilton of Drumcarny, John Skene, clerk-regiſter, all lords of ſeſſion, and Peter Young, his almoner. Theſe eight gentlemen, who were committed to this important truſt, were, from their number, denominated *Octavians*. They were inveſted with ſuch great power, as amounted to the whole executive part of government. Every lucrative and honorable office fell into their hands, and the courtiers complained that the king himſelf had now nothing to diſpoſe of. However as the utmoſt harmony was obſerved, the king's taxes and revenues were regularly received, and frugally, as well as regularly applied, ſo that money ſoon flowed into the exchequer apace.

But if the courtiers diſliked the octavians, the clergy, who were in general poor, beheld them with averſion. Beſides, ſome of theſe octavians were avowed papiſts. This circumſtance made the clergy extremely froward againſt the king, but when they heard that he had recalled the popiſh

lords

lords, they loſt all temper; and while they loudly inveighed againſt the treaſon of others, their indignation and zeal, which was always too violent, precipitated themſelves into ſuch actions, as without much injuſtice, might eaſily be conſtrued into open rebellion. To all their Preſbyteries were ſent letters, advertiſing the return of Angus, Huntley, and Errol, and ordering that they ſhould be publicly excommunicated, together with all others who were ſuſpected of favoring popery. They exhorted them to excite the people to defend the proteſtant faith, and their juſt rights; and finally, they choſe one of the moſt eminent clergymen, out of every corner of the kingdom, in order to reſide conſtantly at Edinburgh, and to meet every day the miniſters of that city, in an aſſembly which they called *the ſtanding council of the church.*

The intemperate fervor of Black, miniſter at St. Andrew's, exceeded all bounds. In his ſermons he reviled James, curſed his miniſters, affirmed that all kings were the offſpring of the devil, who now appeared to rule the court; and that the queen of England was an atheiſt. The king, notwithſtanding the natural pliancy of his diſpoſition, and all his wiſhes to ſtand well with the clergy, could not brook theſe reiterated inſults. He ſummoned Black to appear before his council to anſwer for his audacious ſpeeches, and for the ſeditious doctrine which he had promulgated; and commanded the miniſters to retire to their reſpective churches; but he was obeyed in neither: Black, and his brethren declaring, that the king's authority was of leſs weight than the power and intereſt of the church. James, by this bold reply, kindled into rage; and obſerving that he was little better than a cypher in his own kingdom if this were the caſe, he determined to try the event. The courtiers, who deſired nothing better than to ſee the king and his clergy

clergy at variance, employed not a few artifices to aggravate the diſpute; in conſequence of which a tumult aroſe in Edinburg, on the 17th December 1596, which expoſed the king to no little danger. For whilſt he was ſitting in the Tolbooth at the court of ſeſſion, where he had given an haughty anſwer to a petition which the clergy had very abruptly preſented; the rabble without, on the return of the deputies with his majeſty's reply, preſſed promiſcuouſly into the room in which he ſat, and inſiſted that the petition (which principally inforced the perpetual baniſhment of the popiſh lords) ſhould be granted. James, alarmed at their bold intruſion and furious manner of ſalutation, retired in haſte, without ſpeaking a word, and ſhut the gates behind him. On this, all was riot and confuſion. One recited the ſtory of the wicked Haman, the reſt made the application, and ſallying forth, and ſhouting, "the ſword of the Lord and of Gideon," they called aloud for the king, and ſome of his counſellors by name, that they might be ſacrificed to their fury. But the city magiſtrates found means to quell them, and the rioters diſperſed in leſs time than they had aſſembled.

The king however, next morning withdrew to Linlithgow; happy in having eſcaped the rage of an inſurrection, which in the end was as fatal to the clergy, as it was favorable to the eſtabliſhment of regal authority. For a convention of the eſtates being called, the barons there aſſembled, deemed the late violent tranſactions to be high treaſon. And matters ran ſo high againſt the citizens of Edinburg, who with ſuch boiſterous imprudence had ſupported the clergy, that the court party threatned to lay the city in aſhes, and to erect a pillar where it ſtood, in token of their guilt, and of the king's vengeance. But James was mild; he waved the rigor of the law; and tho' he ſtripped the citi-

zens

zens of many of their moſt valuable privileges, he allowed them by the payment of a conſiderable ſum of money, to purchaſe their pardon.

Mean time the miniſters of Edinburg foreſeeing no other hope of ſafety, had fled to Newcaſtle. James was determined to humble them, but finding he could not accompliſh his end by force, he reſolved to try the effect of flattery and promiſes. This reſolution was indeed political, and perhaps the only one by which he could poſſibly have compleated his purpoſe. Men of enlarged ideas may be ſoothed into thoſe meaſures with which threats and puniſhment can never excite them to comply; and when flattered with the liberty of free-will, they will part voluntarily with ſuch things as otherwiſe death itſelf would be unable to exact. James therefore by proper agents plied his arts ſo ſucceſsfully, that, at two different general aſſemblies, a majority condemned their own raſhneſs, and that of their brethren, and declared in favor of thoſe meaſures which were moſt agreeable to the king. The miniſters returned to their reſpective charges, and James for the remainder of his reign, found means to eſtabliſh almoſt an abſolute dominion both over them and eccleſiaſtical affairs in general. 1597.

The king having gained this great point, ſoon made large ſtrides towards the introduction of epiſcopacy. Under pretence of rewarding the clergy for their late dutiful compliance with his will, he propoſed that ſuch paſtors as he ſhould appoint, might be empowered to ſit in parliament as repreſentatives for their whole order, with the ſame freedom and dignity, which abbots and biſhops had been allowed formerly. But ſuch was the general averſion to the leaſt idea of prelacy, that eaſe, honor, and profit had no charms, and the miniſters ſtrove as eagerly to ſhun preferment, as the ſons of the

the church now-a-days endeavor to embrace it. Every diſcerning man ſaw through the veil of the king's pretended generoſity, "Gloſs over this ſcheme (ſaid one of the leading clergymen) with what varniſh you pleaſe; deck the intruder with the utmoſt art; yet under all the diſguiſe, I ſee the horns of his mitre." Notwithſtanding this, James and his miniſters acted their parts ſo artfully, that the weakeſt of the order, which generally, in every body of people, form a majority, being gained over, clerical ſeats in parliament were at a general aſſembly on the 7th of March 1598 pronounced both lawful and expedient, and James ſoon ratified their reſolution, by procuring to it the ſanction and authority of the ſenate of his kingdom.

During the late ſquabbles, the octavians, having fell out among themſelves, reſigned their places, by which the nation loſt the great benefit of a juſt and regular œconomy. The king therefore being again maſter of his own exchequer, deſired Elizabeth, in 1599 to ſend him a company of players, which ſhe accordingly complied with; and Mr. Guthrie is of opinion, tho' without aſſigning any reaſon in ſupport of his conjecture, that the immortal Shakeſpear, was one of the number. The clergy, as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, from their temper and diſpoſition, loudly exclaimed againſt the king for his conduct in this reſpect. They cenſured even Shakeſpear's drama as wicked and unedifying, and mentioned all players with the greateſt contempt and deteſtation. But as James thought fit to grant to thoſe whom Elizabeth had ſent him, his royal licence and protection, the clergy lowered by degrees their ſtrain of invective, and the theatre thronged with ſpectators.

Scotland now taſted the ſweets of domeſtic peace; and the king, ſenſible of his own happineſs, found

found leiſure about this time to write a treatiſe on the art of government. It was intitled Baſilicon Doron, and addreſſed to his ſon prince Henry. And notwithſtanding it abounds with an oſtentatious ſhew of pedantic erudition, ſome are of opinion that few better books for juſtneſs of compoſition, and propriety of ſentiment, have been ſince publiſhed on that ſubject. James maintained an amicable correſpondence with Elizabeth, and a political but ſecret one with her miniſter Cecil, who, in the courſe of letters, took care to beſpeak the good-will of his future maſter.

But while James was induſtriouſly diving into the politics of England, and daily expecting, as well as preparing, to accede to that throne, there happened this autumn a circumſtance, which if the king himſelf may be believed, had well nigh blaſted his hopes. As he was going out early in the morning of the 5th of Auguſt from his palace at Falkland, to take the diverſion of hunting, he was accoſted by Mr. Alexander Ruthven, brother to the earl of Gowry, to the following effect: That the preceding evening he had ſeized a man, near his brother's houſe at Perth, of a very ſuſpicious aſpect, who, he found upon examination, had concealed under his cloak a pot of money; that he had confined the man and ſecured the treaſure, and as he did not doubt but that his majeſty would chuſe to take cognizance of the affair, he urged him, with much importunity, to ride over to Perth, for that purpoſe, immediately. James demanded whether it was foreign coin, and being anſwered in the affirmative, he concluded the fellow to be ſome trafficking prieſt, who had been charged with this money for the purpoſe of exciting ſome freſh rebellion. He therefore bade Ruthven return to Perth, and deliver up the man and his money to the inſpection

of the magiſtrates. Ruthven objected to this. He ſaid, that as yet his own brother was ignorant of the adventure, but that if he and the other magiſtrates of the place were made acquainted with it, he feared that the king would get but a poor account of the treaſure; adding, that, in that caſe, he, without doubt, ſhould alſo loſe that gratuity, which, for his honeſt conduct, he had promiſed himſelf from his majeſty's generoſity. He then again urged the king to ſet out with him immediately for Perth. This James refuſed; but he told him that when the chace was ended he would diſcourſe with him further. Whilſt the king was in the midſt of his ſport, and the hounds were in full cry, he could not help thinking on Ruthven, and his ſtrange ſtory. And tho' he entertained ſome ſuſpicions to Ruthven's diſadvantage, his curioſity got the better of them, and when the dogs were at fault, he took occaſion to inform Ruthven, that as ſoon as the chace was over he would accompany him.

Accordingly, at the death of the buck, the king, without waiting for a freſh horſe, rode off, beckoning the duke of Lenox and the earl of Mar to follow. Ruthven ſeemed to be mightily againſt their attendance; but the king told him with a ſmile, that being but a bad reckoner himſelf, it was neceſſary that he ſhould have ſome aſſiſtance in telling over the money. Gowry was at dinner when he heard, by a ſervant diſpatched on purpoſe, of the king's approach; but collecting about thirty or forty of the citizens, he came out of the town about a quarter of a mile to receive his majeſty, whoſe whole train, it ſeems, conſiſted of hardly a ſcore. When the king had refreſhed himſelf by a repaſt, and the nobles had withdrawn into another room in order to partake of the like, Ruthven found means to diſmiſs his brother Gowry, and then he whiſpered the king, that

that now was the time to examine the man and inſpect his treaſure. James accordingly aroſe, and was conducted up a ſtair-caſe, then through ſeveral apartments (the doors of which Ruthven locked always carefully behind him, repeating every time, "I warrant I have him ſafe") and at laſt into a a ſtudy, where, inſtead of ſeeing a man defenceleſs and bound, he beheld one at liberty, and armed with both a ſword and a dagger; but who it ſeems trembled as if he had been really the perſon which James had expected. Ruthven immediately ſeized the man's dagger, and ſwearing that the king muſt die, was about to plunge it in his boſom; when lo! at that critical inſtant, he eloquence of James preſerved his life. For expoſtulating with him on the heinouſneſs of the crime, and on the certain ignominy, inſtead of advantage, which muſt accrue to him and his whole family, by the perpetration of ſuch an execrable deed, Ruthven dropped the dagger and ſeemed full of contrition. However, he told the king, that he muſt be contented to be his priſoner 'till he had ſpoken to his brother; and ordering the man, who ſtill trembled exceſſively, to take care that the king did not eſcape, he departed ſeemingly with that view. Ruthven ſpeedily returned with a cord, and telling the king there was no help for it, "by God he muſt die" he attempted to bind his hands. A violent ſtruggle on this enſued, during which the man in the cloſet aſſiſted neither. The ſtrength of James was of as much ſervice to him now, it ſeems, as his eloquence had been before, for dragging Ruthven to a window (which during his abſence he had perſuaded the man to open) he called out, "Treaſon, help, Mar, Lenox, I am murdered." The king's voice was heard, and known, by all his attendants. Lenox and Mar, with ſeveral others, ruſhed up the great ſtair-caſe, and finding all the doors ſhut

againſt them, they were battering them with great fury, while ſir John Ramſay, ſir Thomas Erſkine, and ſir Hugh Herries, with one Wilſon, a groom, luckily ran up the bye-paſſage which led to the ſtudy. Ramſay firſt entered the ſtudy, at ſight of whom, the king almoſt ſpent in the ſtruggle with Ruthven, cried out, "Strike him low, man, ſtrike the villain low" and Ramſay accordingly having given him three or four ſtrokes with his dagger, tumbled him over the baniſters, and Erſkine, who was at the bottom of the ſtairs, diſpatched him with his ſword.

Mean time the man in the ſtudy had ſomehow unaccountably diſappeared; and the earl of Gowry had entered by a private way into the adjoining chamber, armed with a ſword in each hand, and backed by ſix or ſeven of his ſervants. They were fiercely attacked by the king's party, though but four in number; one of which crying out, "You have killed the king our maſter and will you alſo murder us,"---Gowry dropped the points of both his ſwords, and was at that inſtant run through the heart by Ramſay, exclaiming as he fell, "Alas! I am not to blame for this action." The earl's ſervants fled on the death of their maſter, and Mar and Lenox, with the reſt of the king's attendants, being let into the room, James fell on his knees, with thoſe around him, and returned thanks to God for his wonderful deliverance. But the king had ſcarcely finiſhed his prayer, before the townſmen of Perth aſſembled around the houſe of Gowry who was their provoſt, and calling with affectionate vehemence for the earl and his brother, they no ſooner learned their fate, than in a tranſport of fury, they denounced inſtant vengeance even againſt the king and his attendants. But James by ſpeaking to them mildly, admitting the magiſtrates into the houſe, and informing them circumſtantially of the

the affair, quelled the tumult of the populace, before they had proceeded to any act of deſperation; and James having eſcaped through all theſe perilous adventures, returned the ſame night in ſafety to Falkland.

This is the ſubſtance of the account which was publiſhed ſoon after by the king himſelf. But the reader will eaſily perceive that it abounds with many abſurdities, and that, in a variety of inſtances, too obvious to mention, it is hardly reconcileable to common ſenſe. His clergy were unanimous in diſbelieving it; for, notwithſtanding his expreſs order, they refuſed to thank God for his deliverance in their churches.

Though there is no color of reaſon to imagine that James ſhould make uſe of ſuch an artifice to wreak his vengeance on Gowry and his brother, both of whom, during his whole reign, he had loaded with favors; yet there is alſo no ſufficient proof that the former, who was more religious and more learned than the generality of noblemen, intended the leaſt harm to his ſovereign. And as Henderſon, the earl's ſervant, who, on promiſe of pardon, confeſſed himſelf to have been the perſon concealed in the cloſet, mentioned in his depoſition, that he had been planted there by Ruthven, and without knowing on what account; the moſt eaſy and natural conſtruction of the whole affair, if credited as a conſpiracy againſt the king's life, is, that it centered wholly in Ruthven, and was the immediate offſpring of a ſudden phrenſy. The whole affair, notwithſtanding ſeveral pretended diſcoveries a few years after, ſeems to be, otherwiſe, entirely inexplicable; and muſt be left, amidſt its impenetrable darkneſs, as a ſubject of diſquiſition to ſome trifling antiquary.

But if the clergy ſuſpected the king's veracity, thoſe of the laity who believed the king's pamphlet

to be true, ſuſpected his courage. They thus reaſoned; why did not James make uſe of the dagger which Ruthven, when he went to ſpeak with his brother, had left behind him? or why not try his eloquence or ſtrength with Henderſon (who ſeemed in the account, by his trembling and neutrality, to have been in a diſpoſition and capacity to deny nothing) in order to procure his ſword? James heard theſe things whiſpered about, and as ſome Jeſuits afterwards excited many of the highlanders to acts of rebellion, he ſeized the opportunity of evincing his courage, by marching againſt them in perſon. But his expedition, though ſalutary and effective, was bloodleſs.

James was now at the vertex of glory in Scotland; and if the acquiſitions of new dignity, honor, and importance, were able to give ſatisfaction in proportion to their greatneſs, James was near the ſummit of happineſs, for in March 1603, tidings were brought him that Elizabeth, the great, the deſerving queen of a loyal, becauſe a loving, and of a powerful, becauſe a free people, was in all human probability on the bed of death. Nor were their preſages groundleſs, for ſhe expired on the 24th of March 1603, and James the 6th of Scotland by the name and title of James the 1ſt of England was inſtantly declared her ſucceſſor.

James was ſpeedily informed of the joyful news, with this pleaſing additional circumſtance, that the Engliſh were, to a man, impatient to hail him as their lawful ſovereign. The king received this intelligence with decency and with moderation, and began to make preparations for his departure. He committed his children to the care of ſeveral noblemen and directed his queen to follow him in about twenty days. On the Sunday before his departure, he made a long harangue to his people in the high church of St. Giles at Edinburg; and the people, loth to loſe their king who had lately grown very popular,

popular, answered his affectionate speech by tears and lamentations. James, having promised to visit them frequently, left Scotland on the 5th of April. The eagerness with which the English strove to entertain him during his journey to their kingdom, together with the vile adulation of the courtiers and bishops, occasioned an honest plain Scotchman very justly to observe that, "they would spoil a good king." He tarried four days at Cecil's seat at Theobald's in Hertfordshire, and on the fifth, which was the 7th of May, he arrived in London.

At this period, the church-history naturally occurs; but ecclesiastical and civil affairs have necessarily been so blended, during this and the preceding reign, that very little of the former remains unnoticed. Here, however, it may not be improper to give some account of the *Culdees*, who, indeed, according to the strict rules of composition, ought to have been mentioned much earlier. The Culdees took their name from two Celtic words which signify a *Blackhood*, and are supposed by many to have been the first regular christian clergy in Scotland; but whether Regulus, their chief, was an abbot or a bishop, though it has been the occasion of some controversy, is as uncertain as, it is at present, unimportant. However, their great overseers latterly had the title of episcopi or bishops, who only performed the public service, while the inferior sort visited the sick and relieved the needy. Hungus king of the Picts, under whose reign they are mentioned by Sibbald and Buchanan, was their great patron; Brudus, the last king of that people, gave them the isle of Lochleven; and the town of Balchristic was presented to them by Malcolm Canmore. They were plundered, and otherwise ill-treated during the follow-

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ing reigns, 'till Alexander the 1st restored them to their estates and dignity.

The Scotch antiquaries and historians are agreed that they were an order who differed, in many respects, from the church of Rome. They were presbyters, and neither practiced auricular confession nor divers other ridiculous ceremonies which popery afterwards introduced, though they kept Easter according to the Romans, together with Chrisom and Tonsure; but when the Romish persuasion made head in Scotland, many conformed to all its absurdities.

Till this time they were in great reputation for learning and piety. It seems by their law, that a married man might become a Culdee, but that on professing himself such, he must repudiate his wife, or any other woman with whom he might cohabit. The Culdees, even when popery was the established religion in Scotland, had a right to vote for a bishop of St. Andrews; but their chief bishop, Robert, dying in 1159, and David and his successors neglecting them, their order dwindled by degrees, and towards the close of the following century became intirely extinct.

The reader has before remarked the rise and progress of the protestant faith. The first general assembly of the reformed Scotch church was held at Edinburg on the 20th of December 1560, and the second on the 26th of May following. At these meetings a committee was appointed to settle ecclesiastical dicipline and policy; the members were John Douglass, rector of St. Andrews, John Winrame, sub-prior, John Spotswood, John Rowe, and John Knox; but Knox led every debate, and was not to be controuled. At these meetings, and in a book afterwards published, they declared, "That ordinary vocation to the ministry consisteth in election, examination, and admission;—

other

ther ceremonies, than the public approbation of he people, and declaration of the miniſter, that the erſon there preſented is appointed to ſerve the hurch, we cannot approve; for albeit the apoſtles ſed impoſition of hands, yet, ſeeing the miracle f extraordinary gifts attending it is ceaſed, the ſing of the ceremony we judge not neceſſary." o that impoſition of hands was excluded, as was oon afterwards, reading and ſinging at funerals, eſt that practice, they ſaid, ſhould encourage ſuerſtition. Knox, as it has already been hinted n the hiſtory, had ſuggeſted a project for the comortable maintenance of himſelf, his brethren, and heir poſterity, by ſecuring the whole of the poiſh eccleſiaſtical revenues to them and their heirs, nd diſtributing the ſame by annual deacons. He ropoſed likewiſe to found ſchools from tythes n corn, hay, hemp, lint, fiſh, fleſh, wool, butter, heeſe, &c. Knox greatly urged his ſcheme, and iſplayed the importance of deacons and elders. If this order, ſays he, be perfectly kept, corruption cannot ſuddenly enter. For the free and early election of deacons and elders ſhall ſuffer none to uſurp a perpetual domination over the kirk; the knowledge of the rental will ſuffer them o receive no more than whereof they ſhall be bound o make account; and the deliverance of the money to the new officers, will not ſuffer men o uſe in their private buſineſs that which apertaineth to the public affairs of the kirk." But he nobility and men in power, who, during he rage of reformation had enriched themſelves vith the ſpoils of ruined monaſteries, abbeys, and riories, were loth to refund; ſo that, notwithtanding the zeal which they profeſſed for the proeſtant faith, and for the abolition of papacy, the ove of money prevailed over every other conſieration; Knox's ſcheme fell to the ground; and

they ran the riſk of nipping the proteſtant faith in the bud, by their illiberality to its publick profeſſors.

1603. But it is now time to view JAMES on the throne of England His manners ſo widely differing from thoſe of Elizabeth, to whoſe court the Engliſh had been ſo long accuſtomed, made on that people no very favorable impreſſions. Elizabeth knew how to be familiar with dignity, and to recover her princely deportment with a good grace. But if the familiarity of James to his courtiers were ridiculous, the ſtate which he affected was diſguſtful, and his tranſitions to each mode of this unbecoming behavior were ſudden, frequent, and ungraceful. Beſides, the views of James, and the Engliſh, were, from the firſt of his acceſſion, fundamentally different:---James was fixed on ſtretching the royal prerogative, which had been ſtrongly bounded in Scotland; and the Engliſh intent on contracting it:--James, from that particular fondneſs which every one has for his native land, was deſirous to introduce Scottiſh laws and cuſtoms; the Engliſh, from ſome ſimilar motive, determined to keep them out: finally, the former was ſtrongly bent on procuring an union of both nations; the latter on oppoſing it; nor was it deſirable by the Scotch themſelves.

James, to deſtroy every idle pique of ſuperiority between the two nations, and thereby to pave the way for the union, which he had ſo much at heart, iſſued a proclamation before the meeting of a parliament, by virtue therefore of his prerogative, in which he ordered himſelf every where to be ſtiled king of GREAT-BRITAIN. This done, he opened his firſt parliament with a long and an elaborate ſpeech, in which, after diſcloſing the depth of his wiſdom and learning, he inconſiſtently paid the Engliſh ſome compliments on their wiſe and hearty choice

choice of him for their king, at the ſame time that he declared the crown which he then wore, was his birthright. He further ſaid, "That as in his perſon the houſes of York and Lancaſter were united, the flames of civil war could never rekindle." He then boaſted of the peace, which he had ſo long maintained with his neighbours, of the tranquility which had ſubſiſted between him and his Scotch ſubjects; and particularly of late years with his clergy. In regard to religion he expreſſed himſelf in very general and indefinite terms, and upon the whole his ſpeech was but coldly received; ſo that he was greatly baulked in his expectation of applauſe. However he diſſembled his mortification, and very prudently conferred honors on ſeveral of his new ſubjects, particularly on the Howard family who had been conſiderable ſufferers on account of his mother.

The following year, James ſounded his parliament on the ſubject of an union, which he was eager to accompliſh. He found the Engliſh in general exceedingly averſe; and though the propoſal found a powerful advocate in the famous ſir Francis Bacon, afterwards the venal lord Verulam, who exerted all his vaſt learning and eloquence on the occaſion, it was found in vain to urge it. It was unanimouſly agreed, however, when it was again brought upon the carpet three years after, to deſtroy all hoſtile diſtinctions between the two kingdoms; and as this was a kind of federal union, all thoughts of a cloſer connection were at that time abandoned. 1604.

Mean while James loaded his Scotch favorites with ſuch profuſion of bounty, as tended to the deſtruction of their neglected country. They grew wanton, pliable, and luxurious. Their friends and countrymen flocked to London, in hopes of favor and preferment. A proper ſpirit for trade

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and commerce at home, was thus deſtroyed; an to impoveriſh their country ſtill more, the nobilit preſſed grievouſly their tenants, in order to encreaſ thoſe rents which they conſtantly laviſhed awa in England. James, though he ſaw the evil ten dency of theſe proceedings, was perhaps both un able and unwilling to reſtrain them, for as th barons paid their court to him by the moſt fawn ing ſubmiſſion, he winked at their conduct to wards their unhappy dependants. But he diſ patched into Scotland a very affectionate letter and appointing the earl of Dunbar to the prin cipal management of affairs there, he urged hi ſubjects in general, to cultivate by all means com merce and unanimity.

As James now conſidered himſelf to b
1605. firmly eſtabliſhed on the throne, he en couraged a ſevere proſecution of popiſh prieſts. This in all likelihood gave riſe to th *Gun-powder-plot*, which was diſcovered this year and which was fruſtrated on the memorable 5th o November, the day before its intended execution. As the heads of this horrid plot are well known and the particulars are in the province of Engliſh hiſtory, it can only be neceſſary to obſerve, tha the king claimed the merit of the diſcovery, boaſte much of his own great ſagacity on the occaſion and tranſmitted a full account of it into Scot land. But while he bleſſed God who had give him the foreſight to avoid this blow, he was him ſelf levelling a ſevere ſtroke againſt the Scottiſh clergy, by inſiſting, in his letter to the parliament that the temporalities of biſhops ſhould in Scot land, as they were in England, be annexed to their ſees. The clergy in general violently op poſed this meaſure, as wholly repugnant to th rules and orders of the eſtabliſhed church. Si preſbyterian miniſters rather than comply with th king's letter had choſen a priſon; and ſome other

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who had been ordered up to London by James, to attend him and his prelates, defended their ancient liberties with the utmoſt intrepidity Andrew Melvil and his nephew James greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves on this occaſion. The latter, a man of modeſty, learning, piety, and moderation, when he was examined touching his behaviour, nobly declared, "I am a free ſubject of the kingdom of Scotland, which hath laws and privileges of her own as free as any kingdom in the world, and to which I will ſtand." He nevertheleſs preſerved the greateſt decorum, which, from a natural impatience of temper, was wanting in his uncle, who ridiculed the church of England in a very indecent epigram. Upon his examination, he was guilty of perſonal abuſe; and being placed near proud Bancroft, archbiſhop of Canterbury, he ſhook his lawn ſleeves, and called them *Romiſh rags*. For this behaviour he was ſent to the Tower, and kept there three years; but his nephew and the were permitted to return home.

James, nevertheleſs, laid aſide his project till towards the latter end of his reign, when he found means, by degrees, pretty nearly to effect his purpoſe. Mean time the ſix impriſoned miniſters were baniſhed into ſeveral parts of the kingdom; but Andrew Melvil, through the interceſſion of the duke of Bouillon, obtained his free diſcharge, and he died ſoon afterwards of the gout at Sedan.

Ten years now elapſed without any very remarkable occurrence. The earl of Dunbar died 1610, and James elevated to the important office of treaſurer, which that deſerving nobleman had enjoyed, one Carr, who had been formerly his page. James regarded this young man with uncommon affection. He took the pains himſelf to teach him Latin, created him in a very ſhort ſpace of time viſcount Rocheſter and earl of Somerſet,

ſet, and, together with the duke of York, inſtalled him a knight of the garter. But this minion, who was inſolent, artful, wicked, and ungrateful, ſoon became in both kingdoms, as obnoxious as favourites who acquire unmerited power, and exerciſe it without moderation, commonly are and always ſhould be. In 1561, he was undermined by Villiers, a new favourite, and his fall was as ſudden as his riſe. On this occaſion, the poſt of treaſurer was conferred on the earl of Mar; and James, having received a large ſum of money from the Dutch for delivering up their cautionary towns, determined to viſit his native country.

Previous to his journey, he tranſmitted a letter, informing his Scotch ſubjects, that his intention of viſiting them proceeded from a "Salmon-like inſtinct," and not from any deſire to make the leaſt alteration in the civil or eccleſiaſtical polity of their kingdom. But the truth of this declaration was owing perhaps to his ſubjects, who, during his ſtay amongſt them, took care that no material innovation ſhould be made. For James decorated his own chapel with an organ and a choir of muſic, together with all the pomp of church ceremonies; and would have erected the ſtatues of the apoſtles if he had not met with too warm an oppoſition from thoſe of the clergy, who had been the moſt ſubmiſſive: even the archbiſhop of St. Andrews told him, that after fixing ſuch images, there could be nothing wanting to reſtore popery but the maſs. And indeed by the tenor of James's behaviour, during the whole time in which he reſided in Scotland, it ſhould ſeem as if he wiſhed to introduce it. He ſeized every occaſion to mortify the preſbyterians; and by the publication of his book of ſports, by enforcing the obſervation of what are called Holy-days, and by many other unpopular meaſures, he not only manifeſted his utter averſion to the ancient kirk, but his attachment to prelacy

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and the church of England, of which, by the eccleſiaſtical conſtitution of England, he was the head and lord. In ſhort, James left Scotland in 1617 with impreſſions which were much to his diſadvantage, having, by his example, greatly encouraged popery, and by his inconſiſtent conduct, widened every difference, whether amongſt the clergy or the laity.

Two years after his return to England, James loſt his queen, whoſe character was that of a woman, artful, intriguing and unprincipled. From this time he fell into great contempt, and was wholly governed by Villiers, whom he had created duke of Buckingham, and by Gondemar the Spaniſh ambaſſador. Mean while the French preſſed the renewal of the ancient league with Scotland. The Scotch privileges were accordingly in 1623 eſtabliſhed throughout France; and in Paris the Scotch guard was revived, under the command of the duke of Lenox, and lord Gordon was appointed his lieutenant. About this time James inſtituted the order of Knights Baronets of Nova Scotia, an hereditary honour, firſt conferred on thoſe who adventured to ſettle in that part of North America, from whence the order was denominated. Sir William Alexander of Menſtrie deviſed the ſcheme, and undertook that it ſhould be made a colony, provided, that, on payment of a certain ſum of money to the king, thirty of his countrymen might be intitled to a portion of land there, and the rank of baronets in England. To this James ſpeedily agreed, and it is among the laſt memorable actions of his life. For having, in 1624, concluded a treaty of marriage between his ſon Charles the prince of Wales and Henrietta Maria, daughter to Henry the 4th of France and Mary of Medicis; he was, in March the following year, attacked by a diſeaſe, which ſome of his phyſicians deemed to be a ter-

a tertian ague, and others the gout; and he died on the 27th of that month, in the 59th year of his age. Some are of opinion, that he received foul play from Buckingham, who in the abſence of the phyſicians adminiſtered to him poſſets, and applied plaiſters with his own hand.

A cloud of prejudice from the different parties adopted by Engliſh hiſtorians, have almoſt totally obſcured the character of this monarch. There is obſerved no medium: whilſt one party call him the Solomon of the age, the other will not allow him a grain of ſenſe; and whilſt that extols him for his excellent management in preſerving peace with all his neighbours for ſuch a ſeries of years, this attributes the bleſſing to puſillanimity and to cowardice. As king of Scotland, in which light he is here to be conſidered, his behaviour, in many reſpects, manifeſted that he was neither a fool nor a perſonal coward; though he might be a political one. His conduct in civil affairs was generally uniform and conſiſtent; but in matters reſpecting religion, always the contrary; which renders the reality of his own faith extremely dubious. As to his perſonal and domeſtic character, his appearance was very mean, and it was rendered more ſo by the coarſeneſs and vulgarity of his general converſation, which he conſtantly interlarded with that fooliſh, unmanly and impious habit, ſwearing, and which, when agitated by paſſion, hurried him too frequently into the moſt ſhocking blaſphemy. Notwithſtanding the vaſt ſums which he laviſhed on his favourites; notwithſtanding his exceſſive fondneſs for eaſe and pleaſure, to which he would ſacrifice the moſt urgent buſineſs, he ſeems to have been by nature covetous; for it is ſaid, that he would ſooner part with an hundred pounds which were not in his own poſſeſſion, than with twenty ſhillings which he had in his pocket. This temper often

often led him to cheat himself, by accepting two or three thousand pounds for his privy purse, when the parties, with whom he agreed, by bargaining in their turn with his financers, prevented ten times that sum from being paid into his treasury. But now and then, it is said, when he found himself monstrously duped, he would fly from his bargain. It was on this account that one of his courtiers called him "The wisest fool in Christendom." He was so regular in every respect, that another used to say "Were he asleep seven years, and then awakened, he would tell where the king had been every day, and what dishes had been served on his table." James died at Theobalds, in the house which he had bought of Cecil; his body from thence was brought to Westminster, and exposed in state at Denmark-house, till its interment in Westminster Abbey.

CHARLES I.

A series of years, in the busy reign of this unhappy prince, elapsed with- 1625.
out any incidents which separately, and materially affected Scotland. Charles had not one spark of that partiality for his native country, which fired his father James; but he flamed with all his ideas of prerogative and of an hierarchy, subject to his own domination. These things were not unobserved by the Scots; and being but little inclined to love a monarch who seemed so regardless of procuring their affection; and having acquired some just notions of liberty, they had a long time, out of fear of his committing arbitrary actions when personally present, put off, on various pre-

pretences, the ceremony of his coronation. The performance of it was, however, at length fixed for the ſummer of 1633, when the ceremony was accordingly performed with ſuch unuſual pomp, that many ſtrangers, inticed by report of the vaſt and expenſive preparations, came over from the continent merely to behold its magnificence. But whatever ſums were diſburſed on this occaſion, Charles determined they ſhould be made up, in and from Scotland. For the formality of the coronation ſet aſide, the king's principal views in viſiting his Scotch ſubjects were to fleece them of money, and through the aſſiſtance of biſhop Laud, to eſtabliſh every item, which his father had not, of his beloved epiſcopacy.

For this latter purpoſe, Laud had compiled a book of common prayer to be uſed in Scotland, which was in many reſpects more exceptionable to the preſbyterians, than even that which was made uſe of in England. Charles diſplayed his arbitrary diſpoſition in parliament, as well as in the church. To intimidate the members, and carry every point which he intended, he pulled a liſt out of his pocket, and ſaid, "I have all your names here, and will know who will do me ſervice, and who will not." Three bills were then brought in by the lords of articles; one to confirm the royal prerogative, another to regulate the habits of clergymen according to the king's pleaſure, and a third was the reſumption of church-lands and tythes. The firſt two were tacked together; but when the earl of Rothes propoſed that they ſhould be divided, and the members in general were proceeding to a debate, they were told by the king, that to vote was their buſineſs, not to argue. They voted; but though the queſtion was actually carried in the negative, Hay, the clerk-regiſter, an infamous tool of arbitrary power, declared it to be in the affirmative: and as

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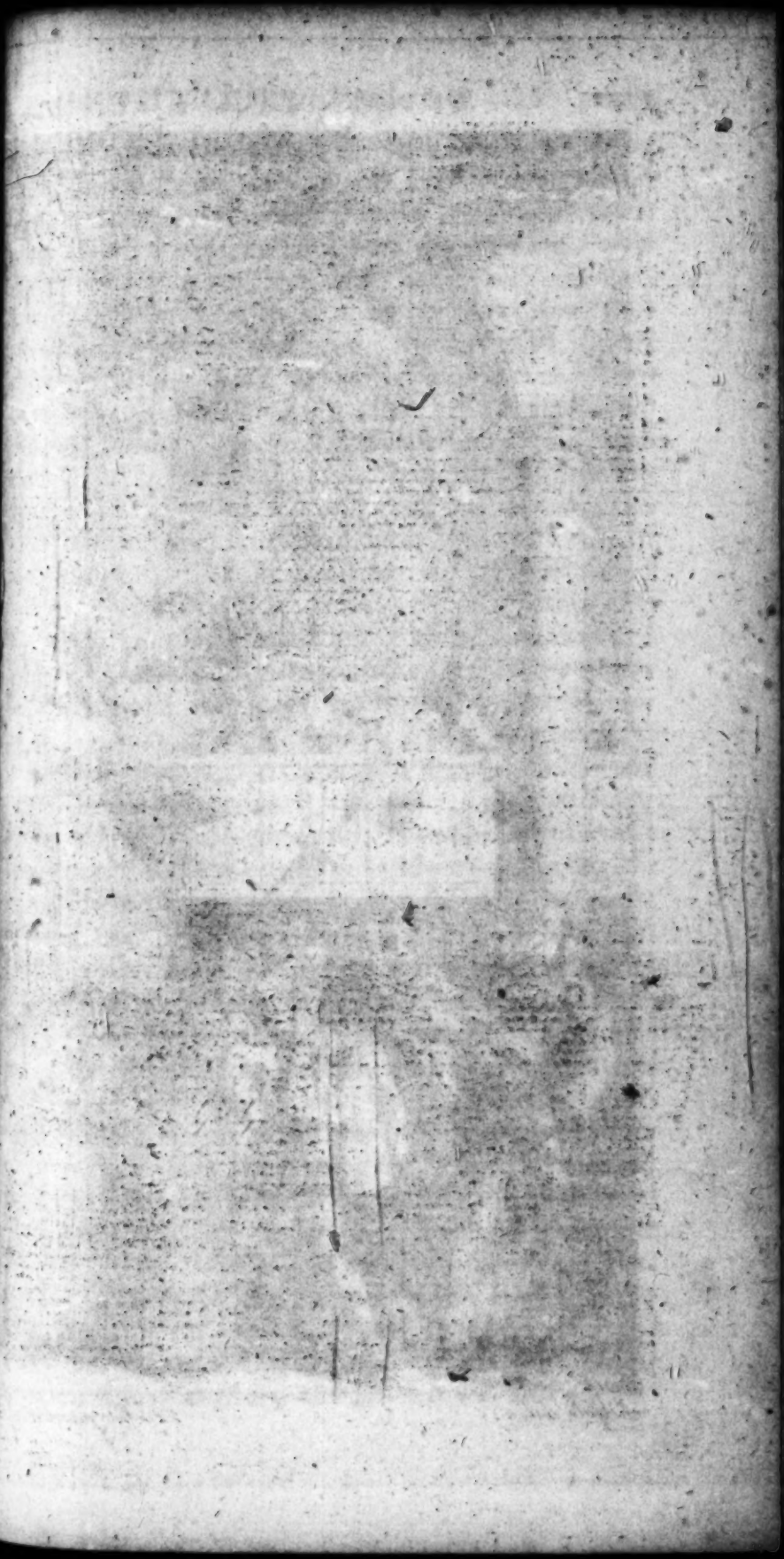

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was death for any person to challenge the award, were found just, none chose to run that risk, and the bill passed. Having thus prostituted the sacred name of parliament, Charles conducted all his measures by similar practices; he made Edinburg a bishopric, and placed therein one Forbes, who was strongly suspected of popery, and then returned precipitately to London, in order to advance his favourite Laud to the see of Canterbury, which was vacated by the death of its former more worthy possessor, Abbot.

The people of Scotland, who had with difficulty, whilst Charles was amongst them, contained their resentment of his unconstitutional proceedings, manifested, soon after his departure, the most settled and universal discontent. Spotswood, archbishop of St. Andrews, had been made chancellor of the kingdom, and Maxwell, bishop of Ross, treasurer; and as churchmen were thus preferred to the most important civil offices, by the appointment of such an infamous minister as Laud, the Scots saw plainly, that without one great effort they must bear the yoke of church-tyranny, and be plunged of course into the most abject slavery. They were in this frame of mind, when, on the 23d of July 1637, Hanna Dean of Edinburgh prepared publickly to read the liturgy, drawn up by Laud. Scarcely had he uttered a sentence, ere the lower class of people, interrupted the service by execrations, outcries, and the most violent expressions of abhorrence. Hanna, afraid to proceed, shut the book and retired from the desk; Forbes himself then stepped into it, and confiding in the power and importance of his episcopal office, began to harangue. The presence of a man, whom they hated, and on such an occasion, put them past all bounds. The prelate was saluted by the women with their joint-stools, bibles, and every thing on which they could lay hands, to throw at him; the church was filled with the

the general clamour of "*a pope! a pope! anti-chriſt! ſtone him! ſtone him!*" and it was with much difficulty that the biſhop eſcaped with his life from theſe enthuſiaſts, whoſe mouth, it was wittily ſaid, in alluſion to Balaam's aſs, the Lord had opened. As the tumults in other churches were nearly the ſame, a petition by ſome of the clergy was then drawn up, to pray his majeſty not to inforce this diſagreeable liturgy, which petition, it is but common juſtice to ſay, was firſt ſigned by Spotſwood and Maxwell; and then by the other chief officers of ſtate. Beſides this general petition, there were no leſs than ſixty-eight private ones to the ſame effect, and the earl of Traquaire went to London to acquaint the king with particulars.

Charles returned ſuch a petulant and ſuch an undeterminate anſwer into Scotland, that the oppoſition to the liturgy, which at firſt aroſe only among the lower claſs of people, was now univerſally ſupported. A national covenant was therefore formed of the ſame nature with that which James had drawn up in behalf of Elizabeth on the Spaniſh invaſion, and it was ſworn to, with the utmoſt alacrity; all ranks, ages, and ſexes, flocking to ſubſcribe their renunciation of popery, their reſolution to maintain, at all hazards, the true religion of the Scotch church, and their firm attachment to the king's perſon and government;--but this laſt was conditional.

Charles now began to conſider his people's petitions, and the conſequences, and therefore diſpatched the marquis of Hamilton to propoſe in his name, that if the covenant were diſſolved, the liturgy ſhould be ſuſpended, till the Scots in a legal way, could receive it. It is probable, that Charles thought this a great conceſſion, but Hamilton was told by theſe noble aſſerters of their country's freedom, that before they would break up their covenant,

nant (which ſome inſtead of ink had actually ſigned with their blood) they would renounce their baptiſm. The king no ſooner heard of their determined reſolution, and their great ſtrength, (for they had met Hamilton to the number of 60,000) than he then offered to aboliſh intirely the diſagreeable liturgy, and alſo the high commiſſion which he had erected, together with every act that, upon fair debate, could be proved oppreſſive and unconſtitutional. Theſe conceſſions it has been ſaid ſhould have ſatisfied the Scots; but they juſtly thought, that they had been only forced from the king by the ſpirit of the times, and would be revoked again the firſt opportunity, when a divided people muſt ſink under the encroachments of arbitrary power. United, they were in a condition to make a noble ſtand, and they therefore declared, that nothing but the total abolition of eſpiſcopacy, and the reſtoration of their ancient religion as ſettled by Knox, could drown their jealouſy and ſtifle their reſentment.

Thus ſtood affairs in 1639, when Charles, piqued to the quick at their obſtinacy, urged on by Laud, and ſupported by every papiſt in England, determined to ſubdue their obſtinacy by force of arms. The Scots appriſed of his intentions, and being ſpirited up, and furniſhed with money by Richlieu, the intriguing miniſter of Lewis the 14th, whom Charles had diſguſted, took the neceſſary meaſures for their own defence. Having inforced the ſigning of the covenant, under pain of excommunication; having driven all the biſhops out of the kingdom, and in fact having utterly aboliſhed epiſcopacy themſelves, they choſe for their general, Alexander Leſley, an experienced officer, who had ſerved in Sweden with great reputation. Before the king proceeded to hoſtilities, he, to perplex the Scots, by ſeeming proofs of his ſincerity,

revived

revived the old covenant, which had been drawn up by his father, and ſigning it himſelf, his agents quickly diſperſed it through Scotland. Some thouſands, by this artifice, renounced the new covenant, and came over to his intereſt; and Old and New Covenant then became the diſtinctions of each party.

And now the king, and the principal of his Scottiſh ſubjects were at avowed defiance. He had iſſued a proclamation, commanding his loyal ſubjects to meet him in arms at York, and the marquis of Hamilton was ordered to prepare a fleet. The covenanters, appriſed of theſe proceedings, planted garriſons in the moſt important towns, and proceeded to fortify Leith, the ſea-port of Edinburg, with ſuch unanimous reſolution, that not only the nobles and gentry, but even women of every rank, employed their hands and ſhoulders indiſcriminately with common labourers, till the fortifications were compleated.

The king on the 2d of June appeared at Berwick, at the head of a conſiderable army, while Hamilton and his fleet were hovering in Leith road in a very ſhattered condition. The main forces of the covenanters were then encamped near Dunſe. Charles advanced, and a few immaterial ſkirmiſhes enſued, in which the Engliſh acted againſt the Scots with viſible backwardneſs, and furniſhed them, as it has been reported, with intelligence of every individual proceeding in the royal camp. At length the covenanters advanced with the whole body of their troops: but before they proceeded to unſheath the ſword, and iſſue out all the horrors of a civil war, it was agreed to diſpatch the earl of Dumferling to his majeſty with the following petition:

To

To the king's moſt excellent majeſty,

"THE humble petition of his majeſty's ſubjects of Scotland, humbly ſheweth, That whereas former means uſed by us, hath not been effectual for recovering your majeſty's favour, and the peace of this your majeſty's kingdom, we fall down again at your majeſty's feet, moſt humbly ſupplicating that your majeſty would be graciouſly pleaſed to appoint ſome few of your majeſty's many worthy men of your majeſty's kingdom of England, who are well affected to the true religion, and common peace, to hear, by ſome of us of the ſame affection, of our humble deſires; and to make known to us your majeſty's gracious pleaſure, that as by the providence of God we are here joined in one iſland, and one king, ſo by your majeſty's great wiſdom and tender care, all miſtaking may be ſpeedily removed; and the two kingdoms may be kept in peace and happineſs under your majeſty's long and proſperous reign, for the which we ſhall never ceaſe, as becomes your majeſty's faithful ſubjects, daily to pray for your majeſty's long and happy reign over us."

This dutiful petition was ſo well received, and ſo favourably commented on by moſt of the leading men in the royal army, that Charles found himſelf under a neceſſity to appoint proper commiſſioners, to treat on the propoſed pacification. Theſe were the earls of Arundel, Eſſex, Holland, Saliſbury, Berkſhire, and the ſecretary Cook. And thoſe deputed by the covenanters, were the earls of Rothes and Dumferling, lord Loudon, ſir William Douglaſs, Mr. Alexander Henderſon, moderator of a general aſſembly, which the covenanters had eſtabliſhed at Glaſgow, and Mr. Archibald Johnſtone, its clerk. The tent of the earl of Arundel, general

neral of the king's troops, was the place of assig nation. Hither the Scotch commissioners repaire with a safe-conduct under the king's own hand Whilst Arundel was opening the conference in set speech, he was struck dumb, and the whol committee put into the utmost consternation, b the abrupt entrance of the king himself, saying as he approached, that understanding the Scot gave out they could not be heard, he had come t hear them in person. Notwithstanding this un manly intrusion, which the assembly in gener rightly supposed, was on purpose to over-awe thei debates, lord Loudon, a young nobleman full of zea and warm from the university, began a speech; bu he was instantly interrupted by the king, wit "Sir, I will not admit of any of your excuses fo your past actions; but if you come to sue for grace set down your desires particularly in writing, an you shall receive your answer." This, thoug thus arbitrarily imposed, was complied with, and th covenanters, amongst many other proposals, tol his majesty, that on condition they might enjo their religion and their laws, they would, if h thought proper, at their own expence, transpor the majority of their forces, to assist in the reco very of the Palatinate. At last, a treaty of paci fication was concluded on, to the following effect That the king withdraw his fleet and army that the Scots dismiss their forces; that the king' forts be given up to him; no meetings allowed, un warranted by parliament, and that such an assem bly should be immediately called to settle all dis putes.

A pacification thus patched up, and in such general terms, was agreeable only to the commis sioners who had made it. Neither the express abo lition of episcopacy, nor one syllable concerning the Glasgow assembly, had ever been directly men tioned,

ioned, and therefore the people eaſily ſaw, that the king would in parliament, with his authority over the Scots, reſume his former carriage towards them, and find means to interpret the vague terms contrary to their intention, and highly to their diſadvantage. Their ſuſpicions, in the ſequel of the king's conduct, proved but too juſt. It was ſoon diſcovered that he had made uſe of mental reſervation; and previous to the meeting of parliament, on the 20th of Auguſt, he employed every ſpecies of the meaneſt duplicity. Pretending that he had committed a manifeſt ſoleciſm in politics, by treating with his own ſubjects, he prorogued the parliament; and leaving matters in the moſt anxious uncertainty he returned to London, appointing the earl of Traquaire his high commiſſioner, a poſt which the marquis of Hamilton had refuſed.

Though the Scots, ſince the pacification, had diſſolved the form of an army, they diſbanded the ſoldiery with ſo much precaution, that, ſtill keeping the officers in pay, they could be collected into a body on the ſhorteſt notice. Obſerving the king's diſpoſition and deſigns, and having intelligence of what was going forward at the Engliſh court, they aſſembled themſelves in parliament on the 11th of June, and there diſcovered that order, judgment, and moderation, and diſplayed ſuch talents, in ſettling their civil and religious liberties, which proved them to be glorious promoters of the cauſe of freedom, and muſt reflect for ever the moſt brilliant luſtre on every individual then preſent. They aboliſhed the lords of articles, and the power of churchmen as legiſlators; confirmed the former determination againſt epiſcopacy; and deviſed many other acts highly worthy of a people, who were determined not to be frightened out of their liberties, by menaces, or the loud ſounds of epiſcopal authority, and regal pre- 1640.

rogative. These patriotic acts were sent up t
London, under the care of the earls of Dumferlin
and Loudon, to be presented to the king for h
royal assent, which assent, under pretence that the
came unauthenticated by his commissioner Tr
quaire, was refused.

A letter which had been written to the king
France, and signed before the pacification, by th
principal Scotch nobility, but never sent, added t
these spirited acts, now furnished Charles with
faint pretext, but full resolution to invade Scotlan
once more, and to listen to no proposals of peac
with them, unless they admitted his will as the
supreme law. But instantly, on the least hint
his design, the Scotch forces were reunited, and re
ceiving a large supply of money from the exactio
of a tenth penny throughout the land, and fro
Richlieu the French minister, (whose assistance
Charles had refused, from a contempt of the strengt
of the covenanters, and which being interprete
in another sense, by that powerful cardinal, ha
determined him to shew his weight to the king
and who shortly experienced the want of it); bein
also spirited up by Montrose, they took the resolu
tion to prevent the king from obtaining the advan
tage of naval, as well as land forces, by first inv
ding England.

Lesley was again appointed commander in chie
who soon appeared with 25,000 men on the Engli
borders, attended by committees of the state
without whose concurrence no step of the least im
portance was to be taken, and surrounded by pe
lars, who procured them the most minute intell
gence. Having defeated a small body of troops u
der the command of lord Conway, who was se
to reconnoitre, they took possession of Newca
tle, and there published a manifesto, setting for
their grievances, and appealed to the leagues
Franc

France in justification of their own conduct. They protested that their invasion was purely defensive; but at the same time declared, they were ready to penetrate into the bowels of England with their sword in one hand, and their covenant in the other.

The king, mean while, had formally denounced them traitors, and at the head of 20,000 men, which he had raised with great difficulty, was advanced as far as Northallerton; but unwilling to risk his three crowns on the event of a single battle, he returned to York, and reviving an antiquated custom, which had never been practised since the time of Edward the 4th, he there, by writ under the great seal, summoned a council of all the peers. Wentworth, earl of Strafford, an arbitrary vindictive nobleman and the king's favourite, was for war; the marquis of Hamilton, a favourite also, and every other member except Strafford, warned Charles against driving the Scots to desperation, and earnestly begged him to give ear to, and redress their grievances, which only could produce that peace which they thought it his majesty's interest to preserve. Thus the king, whose heart went probably with Strafford, was in a manner constrained into pacific measures. He therefore signified his intention of listening to the grievances complained of, and which the Scots accordingly couched in the following demands:

"1st, That his majesty would be graciously pleased to command, that the last acts of parliament may be published in his highness's name, as our sovereign lord, with the estates of parliament convened by his majesty's authority.

"2dly That the castle of Edinburgh and other strengths of the kingdom of Scotland, may, according to the first foundation, be furnished and used for our defence and security.

"3dly, That our countrymen in his majeſty's dominions of England and Ireland, may be freed from cenſure for ſubſcribing the covenant, and be no more preſſed with oaths and ſubſcriptions, unwarrantable by your laws, and contrary to the national oath and covenant approved by his majeſty.

"4thly, That the common incendaries, which have been the authors of this combination, may receive their juſt cenſure.

"5thly, That all our ſhips and goods, with all damages, may be reſtored, and made good.

"6thly, That the wrongs, loſſes, and charges, which all this time we have ſuſtained, may be repaired.

"7thly, That the declarations made againſt us as traitors, may be recalled, by the advice and council of the ſtate of England convened in parliament; and that his majeſty may be pleaſed to remove the garriſons from the borders, and any implements which may ſtop free trade; and with their advice to condeſcend to all particulars that may eſtabliſh a ſtable and well grounded peace, for the enjoying of our religion and liberties, againſt all force, moleſtation, and undoing, from year to year, or as our adverſaries ſhall take the advantage."

This liſt, which concluded with a kind of apology for having advanced ſo far into England, was ſigned by the earls of Rothes, Montroſe, Caſſils, Dumferling, and ſeveral gentlemen of wealth and importance; who likewiſe wrote a very affectionate and well-timed letter to the lord-mayor, aldermen, and citizens of London, preſſing them to continue the Newcaſtle trade, and aſſuring them of perfect ſecurity. This was a meaſure extremely judicious, and was productive of a very great friendſhip.

The demands made by the covenanters, ran in ſo high a ſtrain, that the arbitrary Charles boiled with reſent-

reſentment; but impotent was his rage, his peers inſiſted on the appointment of commiſſioners to treat with the Scots, and on the appointment of ſuch only as might be agreeable to them. They were accordingly the following popular noblemen: The earls of Bedford, Hertford, Eſſex, Saliſbury, Warwick, Briſtol, Holland, Berkſhire; viſcount Mandeville; the lords Wharton, Paget, Brooke, Pawlet, Howard, Saville, and Dunſmore. And to obviate every difficulty, which might ariſe from the ignorance of Scotch laws, the earls of Traquaire, Morton, and Lanerk, were appointed their aſſiſtants. Secretary Vane, ſir John Burrough, and Lewis Stewart, were in like manner appointed to aid the Scotch commiſſioners, who were the earl of Dumferling, lord Loudon, ſir Patrick Hepburn, ſir William Douglas, John Smith, Alexander Wedderbourn, Alexander Henderſon, and Archibald Johnſtone. The vaſt difference in the quality and number of each kingdom's commiſſioners muſt ſtrike the reader immediately. Rippon was fixed to be the place of treaty, and there the firſt meeting was held on the 2d of October. After many debates, or rather after the moſt friendly conferences, in which both parties concurred to bound the royal prerogative, and to curtail the exorbitant power of the clergy, and ſtop the growth of popery, a truce was concluded on the 26th day of the ſame month. A free intercourſe was reſtored, and the ſum of 850 *l.* a day, which the Scots had before levied, on the inhabitants of Newcaſtle and places adjacent, was allowed them during the continuance of their army in England, together with the importation of all neceſſaries for its uſe, duty free. But as to the more material parts of the treaty, it being impoſſible to ſettle them before the 3d day of November, when the Engliſh parliament was to meet, the deciſion was therefore (though much againſt his

majeſty's inclination) referred to that meeting in London. In conſequence of this adjournment, John earl of Rothes, lord Urquhart, William Drummond of Riccarton and Hugh Kennedy of Air were added to the number of the former commiſſioners; and the army of the covenanters enjoyed the advantage of living in a fine country, at eaſe, and in the greateſt plenty, till their cauſe was determined; during which time they purchaſed a good ſtore of arms, and introduced the moſt excellent diſcipline. Notwithſtanding this, the Scots wiſhed that their affairs had been ſettled, that they might have returned into their own country, as they were apprehenſive that the heavy contributions, whilſt they remained in England, might render all in the north of that country their enemies. But the diſmiſſion of their army would have intirely thwarted the views of the Engliſh patriots; for they conſidered the Scotch forces as the greateſt aid in compleating their deſigns on Laud and Strafford; who at the aſſembly of the Engliſh parliament were impeached on the motion of the Scotch deputies, attributing to their diabolical machinations all the evils which Scotland had lately endured. They were ſhortly after attainted, and met their deſerts on the Scaffold.

1641. The Scotch army, ſatisfied in all their demands, (having in conſideration of their loſſes and neceſſities, been voted 300,000*l.* by the Engliſh, who ſtiled them their brethren,) had now returned to their own country. And Charles, who had been taken in hand by his Engliſh ſubjects, determined to repair to the parliament, which was then ſitting in Scotland, though highly mortified that thoſe men ſhould be called brethren by his parliament, whom he had not long before denounced traitors. He reſolved on this ſtep at the inſtigation of the earl of Montroſe, who

who had now openly eſpouſed his cauſe, and had, it is ſaid, inſtilled into him a notion, that, as he had granted them all their demands, (though it was in fact the parliament which had done it) the Scots, by his management of them, might be brought to aſſiſt him in humbling the parliament of England, with whom he was now at variance. In full aſſurance therefore of ſuch an unlikely ſupport, he appeared in their parliament on the 17th of Auguſt, lord Balmerino being preſident, and addreſſed it in the following language:

"My lords and gentlemen,

"THERE hath nothing been ſo diſpleaſing to me, as thoſe unlucky differences which have happened between me and my people; and nothing that I have more deſired, than to ſee this day, wherein I hope not only to ſettle thoſe unhappy miſtakings, but rightly to know, and to be known to my native country. I need not tell you (for I think it is well known to moſt) what difficulties I have paſſed through and overcome, to be here at this preſent: yet this I will ſay, if love to my native country had not been a chief motive to this journey, other reſpects might eaſily have found a ſhift to do that by commiſſion, which I am come to perform myſelf. And on this conſideration, I cannot doubt of ſuch real teſtimonies of your affections for the maintenance of that royal power, which I enjoy after an hundred and eight deſcents, and which you have profeſſed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you, that I ſhall not think my pains ill beſtowed.

Now the end of my coming is ſhortly this: To perfect whatſoever I have promiſed; and withal, to quiet the diſtractions which have and may fall out amongſt you. And this I mind not ſuperficially, but fully and chearfully to perform; for I

aſſure you, that I can do nothing with more chearfulneſs, than to give my people a general ſatisfaction. Wherefore, not offering to endear myſelf to you by words, (which indeed is not my way) I deſire in the firſt place to ſettle that which concerns the religion and juſt liberties of this my native country, before I proceed to any other act."

The fond attachment which Charles ſtill preſerved towards his prerogative is very viſible in this ſpeech, even while he is making profeſſions, which, if ever he meant to fulfil, muſt have deſtroyed it. He diſtributed honours even amongſt his enemies with a very liberal hand. Several of the principal covenanters were ſworn in privy-counſellors; Loudon was made an earl and chancellor of the kingdom. Argyle, Glencain, Lothian, and Lindſay, were jointly to diſcharge the office of treaſurer. The firſt was created a marquis, and the laſt two, earls; general Leſley was created earl of Leven, and made keeper of Edinburgh caſtle. And to Mr. Alexander Henderſon he gave the revenue of the royal chapel, and beſtowed church-preferments on ſeveral other of their popular preachers, whom he attended at divine ſervice, ſeeming to conform himſelf intirely to the eſtabliſhed church.

But however ſanguine the king's hopes might have been of ſuccour from the Scots, ſome of whom, it is ſaid, were touched with a ſenſe of his diſtreſſed condition; both houſes of the Engliſh parliament, by naming committees to attend the Scotch parliament, intirely baffled them, and prevented the bad conſequences of too good an underſtanding between Charles and his countrymen. In the beginning of the following year, the hotrid rebellion broke out in Ireland, and haſtened the king's departure for England. Parties had run ſo high, and the preſbyterian intereſt there became ſo predominant, that,

when

when Charles arrived at his palace, he was, in a manner, blocked up by the citizens of London, who imagined him to have been privy to the horrid tranſactions in Ireland. On this, his majeſty retired firſt to Hampton-Court, from thence to Windſor, and at laſt to York, and the reins of authority were now in the hands of the parliament; not however before the Scotch commiſſioners had endeavoured to accommodate matters; but, as in their interceſſion, they had expoſtulated pretty freely with the king, he rejected their advice with diſdain; though both houſes returned them thanks for their generous and friendly efforts.

England now became a melancholy ſcene: a purple tide from the veins of patriots, and fellow citizens, over-ran her fineſt counties. The Scots were not idle ſpectators of theſe bloody proceedings. For, by the treaty between them, and the two houſes of parliament in England, which was finiſhed in 1643, the Scots agreed to raiſe an army of 18,000 foot and 3000 horſe, on Engliſh pay; but they were to advance their own expences; nor was a ceſſation of arms to be concluded without mutual agreement. Thus, in fact, the Scots, by their ſituation, became the arbiters of England's fate, and by prudent management muſt have been gainers whatſoever ſcale of war had preponderated.

The earl of Montroſe mean time had renounced the national covenant, and declared for the king. And having aſſembled, as his followers, a conſiderable party of Highlanders, he ſtrove eagerly in the cauſe of Charles, in order to make ſome recompence for what he termed his former diſloyalty. But to deſcribe the particulars of his many heroic and almoſt romantic exploits, to attend the covenanters through the fields of horror,---and to relate the many fruitleſs negotiations and diſregarded manifeſtos between Charles and his parliament, muſt be

left to hiſtorians in folio. Suffice it to ſay, that though Montroſe, by his aſtoniſhing victory over the covenanters at Kilſyth in 1645, reduced Edinburgh, and almoſt all Scotland to the king's obedience, who had created him his lieutenant-governor, and captain-general in Scotland; he was totally defeated ſoon after by Leſley at Philiphaugh, and the covenanters re-eſtabliſhed their power.

In England, the royal cauſe was ruined by the deciſive battle at Naſeby; and the king, in the utmoſt diſtreſs, not knowing whither almoſt to haſte for ſafety, betook himſelf, on the 5th of May 1646, to the Scotch army, at that time encamped before Newark. He undoubtedly choſe this ſtep, as the leaſt of two evils; upon the ſuppoſition that the Scots were leſs exaſperated againſt him than the Engliſh. Charles was received with the utmoſt reſpect; but they watched him ſo narrowly, that he ſoon perceived himſelf to be in reality their priſoner. After the hurry and conſternation, which had ariſen in the Scotch army, on the king's ſudden appearance, was, in ſome degree, ſubſided; it was reſolved, by the covenanters, to acquaint the Engliſh parliament that his majeſty had repaired to their camp. In the mean time, all the officers and men of note, laboured earneſtly to cloſe the breach between the king and his parliament, to mutual ſatisfaction; and for that end, the earl Loudon, in particular, urged the king, as the moſt ſalutary meaſure, to comply with their demands.

"The parliament (ſaid this nobleman), are poſſeſſed of your majeſty's navy, and of all the forts, garriſons, and ſtrong holds in the kingdom; they are now in ſuch a poſture for ſtrength and power, as to be able to do what they will in church and ſtate; whilſt ſome are ſo afraid, others ſo unwilling, to ſubmit themſelves to your majeſty's government,

vernment, that they desire not you, nor any of your race longer to reign over them; yet the people are so attached to monarchy, that such as are weary of your majesty's government, dare not attempt to cast it off, till once they send propositions of peace to your majesty, lest the people should fall from them: and therefore the houses of parliament have resolved upon the propositions, which are tendered to your majesty, as that without which the kingdom and your people cannot be in safety; and most part of the people think there cannot be a safe peace on any other terms. Now, sir, if your majesty (which God forbid) should refuse to assent to the propositions, you will lose all your friends, and both kingdoms will be constrained, for their mutual safety, to agree and settle religion and peace without you; which, to our unspeakable sorrow, will ruin your majesty, and your posterity: and if your majesty reject our faithful advice, who desire nothing on earth more than the establishment of your majesty's throne, and lose England by your wilfulness, your majesty will not be permitted to come and ruin Scotland. Sir, we have lain our hands upon our hearts, we have asked counsel and direction from God, and have had our most serious thoughts about the remedy; but can find no other (as affairs stand for the present) to save your crown and kingdoms, than your majesty's assenting to the propositions. We dare not say but they are higher in some things, if it were in our power and opinion to remedy it, than we do approve of; but when we see no other means for curing the distempers of the kingdom, and closing the breach between your majesty and your parliament, our most humble and faithful service is, That your majesty would be graciously pleased to assent to them, as the best way to procure a happy and safe peace; because your majesty shall thereby have many great advantages; you will be

received

received again in your parliaments with the applauſe and acclamations of your people; by your royal preſence your friends will be ſtrengthened; your enemies (who fear nothing ſo much as the granting the propoſitions) will be weakened; your majeſty will have a fit opportunity to offer ſuch propoſitions as you ſhall in your wiſdom judge fit for the crown and kingdom; all armies will be diſbanded; and your people, finding the ſweet fruits of your peaceable government, your majeſty will gain their hearts and affections: this will be your ſtrength and glory, and will recover all your majeſty hath loſt in this time of tempeſt. And if it pleaſe God ſo to incline your royal heart to this advice of your humble and faithful ſervants, who, next to the honour of God, eſteem nothing more precious than the ſafety of your perſon and crown, our actions ſhall quickly make it appear to all the world, that we eſteem no hazard too great for your majeſty's ſafety; and that we are willing to ſacrifice our lives and fortunes for eſtabliſhing your throne. And now, ſir, we proſtrate ourſelves at your majeſty's feet, and in the loweſt poſture of humility, do beg that your majeſty may in the end grant the ſuit of your moſt faithful ſervants, who have no private aims, but only the glory of God, and the ſafety of your majeſty's perſon, poſterity, and crown, before our eyes. The granting our deſires will revive our fainting ſpirits, refreſh our ſad hearts, which are overwhelmed, and like to break with ſorrow, and will turn the prayers and tears of many thouſands of your people into praiſes to God, and make them embrace your majeſty with acclamations of joy."

Theſe unanſwerable arguments, delivered in ſo free, though ſo reſpectful a manner, and which are here recited at large to ſhew the ſenſe of the Scots in general, to whom, on this occaſion, many

hiſtorians

hiſtorians have been unjuſtly ſevere, had no effect upon Charles; who, to the chagrin and diſappointment of his friendly adviſers, and though he had been urged to comply by his queen, and all his other friends in France, declared that he never would agree to the parliament's propoſitions, becauſe he held them, he ſaid, to be abſolutely ſubverſive of that juſt power, to which, by the laws of God, and of the land, he was born; and to which, therefore, no perſuaſions, no intreaties, no arguments, could induce him then to condeſcend.

The Engliſh parliament, on the refuſal of their propoſitions, now demanded that Charles ſhould be given up; and the Scots, after ſome immaterial diſputes, concerning the right to the diſpoſal of his perſon, prepared accordingly, to reſign him in form. The commons of England, having alſo ſignified that they had no farther need of the Scotch army, voted, in conſideration of its good ſervice, and for the payment of arrears, four hundred thouſand pounds, half to be paid on their reſignation of the king, and the remainder in two years; for which, they gave no other ſecurity than their public faith. Many hiſtorians inſinuate that this round ſum (which was equal to four millions and an half of Scotch money) was a bait thrown out by the independents in the Engliſh parliament, in order to draw the king from their Scottiſh allies; the ſame authors maintain, that the Scots only detained the king in order to make a property of his perſon, which they conſidered as a kind of ſurety for the payment of their arrears. But the validity of aſſertions like theſe is beſt eſtimated from the courſe of their actions, the freedom and genuineſs of their public profeſſions, their open behaviour and their ſufferings, from the ſum of which every perſon ſhould judge for himſelf, rather than pin his faith on the opinion of another, actuated perhaps by intereſt,

tereſt, or biaſſed by party. At Newcaſtle, on the 30th day of January 1647, a committee, conſiſting of the earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the lord Montague, ſir John Cooke, ſir Walter Erle, ſir John Holland, ſir James Harrington, Mr. Crew and general Brown, as the parliament's commiſſioners, received the unhappy monarch from the Scots, and conducted him, under a ſtrong guard, to Holdenby; and the ſame day, theſe auxiliaries began a march,---highly agreeable, no doubt, to the northern counties, in which they had long quartered,---for their native country.

And now the fate of fallen royalty comes on apace. From the time that the Scots had given him up, the parliament, and the independent leaders in the army, had alternately made uſe of the moſt circumventing arts, in order to gain poſſeſſion of his perſon; the latter at laſt prevailed. Whilſt theſe were thus ſhuffling and cutting for the unfortunate king; in Scotland, a large party, under the marquis now duke of Hamilton, touched with his ſufferings, and melting with pity, eſſayed, by force, to effect his enlargement. But Hamilton, more unſucceſsful in the royal cauſe than Montroſe had been, was not only defeated in his attempt, but taken priſoner, and afterwards beheaded; whilſt Oliver Cromwel, who had conquered him, and who now began greatly to diſtinguiſh himſelf, continuing his march towards Scotland, was welcomed, on his arrival at Edinburgh, by a committe of covenanters appointed on the occaſion, with many demonſtrations of regard and eſteem.

During his ſtay in that city, it is ſaid, he was often cloſetted with the leading nobility and clergy; but of what nature their conſultations at theſe times were, has never yet tranſpired. Cromwel left Edinburgh at the latter end of the year 1648;---and on the

the 30th of January following, the king ſaw in death a period to his troubles. How far the Scots were, in this reſpect acceſſaries, has been a ſubject of controverſy, and, as ſuch, moſt likely, it will ever remain.

The particulars of his melancholy fate;——of his deportment on the ſcaffold, previous to the awful moment of his diſſolution;——the juſtice or impiety of the ſentence, which impoſed the ſtroke, and what authorities can juſtify it; together with ſuch traits of his character as do not naturally ariſe from the tenor of his behaviour to the Scots, which was to the laſt degree fickle and faithleſs;---are circumſtances with which an hiſtory of his native country has little concern. It is ſufficient then to ſay, that his whole reign, like thoſe of his ſons and ſucceſſors, Charles and James, was but a continued conſpiracy againſt the religious and civil liberties of his people. He was beheaded in the 49th year of his age, and the 24th of his reign, by order of the parliament, and buried decently at Windſor.

CHARLES II.

PRINCE Charles was in the 18th year of his age, and at the Hague, when he received the tidings of his father's fate. 1649.

The Scotch covenanters (to whom the independents of England, who now took the lead in that kingdom, had become extremely obnoxious) determined, howmuchſoever they had proceeded againſt the father, to acknowledge and proclaim the ſon. Accordingly, under certain conditions, which he complied with, Charles was invited over. He arrived in Scotland in the ſummer of 1650, and having

having ſolemnly taken the covenant, was crowned at Scone on the firſt of January 1651.

Theſe proceedings were exceedingly diſagreeable to the commonwealth of England; in conſequence of which, Cromwel, who was then their ſoul, though he afterwards intirely ſubverted it, marched into Scotland, and with ſome difficulty, took poſſeſſion of Leith and Edinburgh. Charles, mean time, was furniſhed with a good army, and reſolved to command it in perſon, appointing Lelley, lord Leven's ſon, his lieutenant-general. He encamped at Torwood, between Edinburgh and Stirling; and the county of Fife ſupplied him with proviſions. But as Cromwel ſoon cut off that communication, the king was reduced to great ſtraits; being yet unwilling to quit his ſtrong intrenchment to attack Cromwel's veterans, he ſtole a day's march of that able general, and poſted to Worceſter, where he expected to be ſo well received as to be very ſhortly in a fit condition to proceed to London. But Charles, in this expectation, was too ſanguine. Cromwel, who, it is ſaid, wilfully permitted the king to take this ſtep, leaving in Scotland George Monk, to command during his abſence, hurried exultingly after Charles, and attacked him in camp at Worceſter, on the 3d of September, with ſuch ſkill and reſolution, that the royal forces were totally routed, and their young leader narrowly eſcaped being taken priſoner.

On this bad ſucceſs, Charles finding himſelf to be without ſupport, took great pains to conceal his perſon, and to retire into France. A detail of the aſtoniſhing fatigues which he underwent before he could effect his purpoſe, is to be met with in every Engliſh hiſtory, ſo that it is only neceſſary to ſay here, that he eluded the moſt diligent ſearch, and got ſafe to Normandy on the 22d of October.

On

On the king's defeat, Cromwel repaired to London; and a committee of parliament congratulating him on his ſucceſs, he made a preſent to each of them of an horſe and two Scotch captives. It was now that Cromwel's ambition began to expand itſelf; and whilſt he was taking large ſtrides towards the protectorſhip in England, Monk, his lieutenant-general, was equally ſucceſsful in curbing the royaliſts in Scotland. In conſequence of which, commiſſioners were ſent from England to govern that kingdom, and they took up their reſidence at Dalkeith. Having procured oaths of fidelity from the principal magiſtrates and perſons in office, they promulged public acts, in the name of the commonwealth of England; one of which was a kind of an act of grace, wherein they promiſed "The protection of the Engliſh parliament to all magiſtrates and miniſters, who ſhould live peaceably under their authority; and an indemnity to all merchants, tradeſmen, and handicrafts, whoſe eſtates were not above five hundred pounds ſterling; and to all others, who were not ſoldiers and priſoners, whoſe eſtates did not exceed two hundred pounds, for all they had committed during the late wars and commotions."

Of the particular tranſactions of this government, there is no authentic account. From this time therefore, till the death of Cromwel in 1658, there is a very diſagreeable chaſm in the hiſtory of Scotland. On the demiſe of this great man, Charles, who, during the protectorate, had reſided chiefly at the French court and at Breda, began to purſue thoſe meaſures which he conceived might be moſtly conducive to recover his crown. He underſtood that there were many parties in Scotland;—and therefore he employed Mr. James Sharp, afterwards the memorable archbiſhop of St. Andrews, to effect an union of all to his intereſt. Charles himſelf

himſelf had ſecured the confidence of Monk by a letter, dated the 21ſt of July 1659, which he diſpatched to him by ſir John Grenville, and of which the following is a copy:

"SIR,

"I Cannot think you wiſh me ill, nor have you reaſon ſo to do; and the good I expect from you will bring ſo great a benefit to your country and to yourſelf, that I cannot think you will decline my intereſt. The perſon who gives or ſends this to you, has authority to ſay much more to you from me: and if you once reſolve to take my intereſt at heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your judgment, and will comply with the advice you ſhall give me; the reſt I refer to the perſon that conveys this to you. It is in your power to make me as kind to you as you can deſire, and to have me always

Your affectionate friend,

C. R."

Monk, having received this letter, and conferred with the bearer, being an old trimmer, he preſently grew zealous in the cauſe of his royal maſter. He convened the chief of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who were at Edinburgh, and told them, that he was reſolved to march to England in ſupport of the parliament. As the protector, Richard Cromwel, had been depoſed, the Scotch royaliſts, who, by Sharp's intrigues, were now pretty numerous, imagined, that this reſolution was equivalent to a declared intention of reſtoring the king. Such in fact it was, though in an affair of that conſequence, Monk choſe to act with the utmoſt ſecrecy and circumſpection. Sharp, who alone, perhaps, was privy to his real deſign, though he affected to be ignorant of it, accompanied him to

to London, from whence he held a regular correſpondence with his brethren in Scotland, and not only paved the way for Charles's reſtoration, but for that of epiſcopacy, and conſequently for all the horrid acts of perſecution and cruelties, which accompanied it.

The king, mean time, had publiſhed a declaration from Breda, granting a general pardon to ſuch of his ſubjects, not excepted by parliament, who ſhould embrace it within forty days. This, backed by the addreſs of Sharp with the Scots, and of Monk with the Engliſh, met with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was invited home without any terms, proclaimed at London on the 4th of May, and at Edinburgh on the 14th; and on the 29th he entered the former city, amidſt ſuch joyous acclamations, that he ſatyrically aſked "What had become of the people who had kept him ſo long abroad." 1660.

As Charles had been imprudently called in without any terms, the Scots as well as the Engliſh preſbyterians, who had been the principal inſtruments of his return, ſoon ſaw the error of this ill-timed generoſity. All the ſolemn engagements, which ten years ago his majeſty had made to uphold the covenant, and eſtabliſh preſbytery, were now intirely diſregarded; having ſecretly embraced popery while abroad, and conceived an utter averſion to preſbyterians, the king was reſolved, that, as in Scotland monarchy was reſtored, ſo ſhould be prelacy, adopting that abſurd maxim of his grand-father, no biſhop no king. Charles, therefore, ſettled a miniſtry which conſiſted of the moſt violent high-churchmen; and the earl of Middleton, becauſe he was the moſt zealous for the hierarchy, and was of a temper which would ſtick at nothing to ſerve his maſter, was appointed high-commiſſioner in parliament. Middleton, eager to ſhew his capacity for

for the office, procured, at one vote, a repeal of every act of the Scotch parliament from 1640 to 1648; after which, by a ſingle act, he overthrew the whole eſtabliſhed government of the kingdom, deſtroyed the national covenant (the abettors of which were alſo from henceforth to be accounted traitors) and reſtored epiſcopacy. When his moſt intimate friends inſinuated, that ſlower proceedings might, in the end, prove more ſecure, he anſwered, "That the parliament was now at his beck; that he loved to ſerve his maſter genteelly, and to do his buſineſs at one ſtroke."

It was eaſy to ſee that ſuch haſty acts, to make them any thing valid, muſt be ſealed with blood. The commiſſioner pointed out three perſons, one of the nobility, one of the gentry, and one of the clergy, who had been the moſt leading men of the kirk or preſbyterian party, and devoted them to inſtant deſtruction. They were the marquis of Argyle, Johnſton of Wariſton, and Mr. James Guthrie. The marquis, an amiable man, as he was led to the block, heroically declared, that he could die like a Roman, but he rather choſe to ſuffer as a chriſtian, which he accordingly did.

Guthrie was a ſtrict follower of Knox, of principles the moſt rigid, and of a temper ſomewhat ſingular. The king had formerly honoured him with a viſit, at a time when he was ill in his room at Stirling; and whilſt his wife haſtily roſe to hand his majeſty a chair, he would not ſuffer it, ſaying, "Sit ſtill, ſit ſtill, good wife, the king is a young man, and can reach a chair for himſelf." Though thus deficient in good manners, he was a man of learning, ſtrong natural parts, and great piety, and he met his ignominous fate on the gibbet with a primitive reſolution. Johnſton by flight eſcaped for the preſent, but ſuffered with pious reſignation and Roman fortitude two years afterwards. Theſe were

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the proceedings in the year 1661, in which, to the great regret of hiſtorians, eighty-five hogſheads of Scottiſh records were loſt in their conveyance by ſea, to Leith from London, where they had been carried by Cromwel.

Charles having thus aboliſhed that covenant which he had ſworn to main- 1662.
tain; having ſlaughtered the very perſons whom he had ſolemnly promiſed to protect; and having, contrary to his plighted faith, introduced epiſcopacy, proceeded to eſtabliſh the church of England hierarchy by perſecution, than which nothing can be more unreaſonable, more inconſiſtent to humanity, more unjuſt, more impolitic, and more directly oppoſite to the ſpirit and precepts of the chriſtian religion. Were conſcience controulable by human laws, or amenable to human tribunals, Charles, in this reſpect, and even the church of Rome, might be excuſed; but conſcience is not to be forced into conviction; all attempts that way can never produce it, and muſt only add to the number of hypocrites or martyrs. Bent, nevertheleſs, on this diabolical reſolution, and though he knew the Scots' invincible averſion to prelacy, Charles conferred the metropolitan ſee of St. Andrews on Sharp, as well in reward of his paſt ſervices, as that he rightly judged him to be a fit prime agent for that bloody buſineſs. The other ſees were alike filled by men, who were agreeable to the diſpoſition of Charles, and fatal proofs ſoon appeared, that the government of Scotland was become truly epiſcopal. Deprived of a comfortable ſubſiſtence, and driven from their peaceful abodes, the preſbyterian miniſters preached undauntedly in the fields, and on the hills, to hearers who flocked to them inceſſantly; which 1663.
they boldly continued, notwithſtanding an act againſt non-conformity, that for its ſingular

ſeverity, was called the *Biſhop's Drag-net.* Juſtices of peace were empowered to commit theſe conventiclers to priſon, without trial or juries; and any one found guilty of a third offence was ordered to be baniſhed to America. One ſir James Turner was employed by the council, it is ſaid, to act, in this reſpect, both as an informer and as a proſecutor, though he was was beſides impowered to be at once the judge and the executioner of every law reſpecting church-government. Being backed by a body of 20,000 foot and 2000 horſe, a kind of ſtanding army, at the earl of Middleton's command, he performed his commiſſion with the moſt cruel punctuality and exactneſs; levied fines without proceſs, and committed the moſt wanton injuries without the leaſt provocation. Beſides theſe oppreſſions in church affairs, it was declared that no perſon who refuſed to ſign a renunciation of the ſolemn league and covenant ſhould be elected into any kind of office; but, on the contrary, that every perſon, who ſo refuſed, ſhould, from that time, forfeit his privileges as a freeman and a merchant. Every poſſible method, in ſhort, was put in practice which could ſerve to diſtreſs the wretched preſbyterians, both clergy and laity.

All theſe calamities were thought by
1664. the commonalty, who for the moſt part were preſbyterians, to have their fruitful ſource in Sharp. Of this opinion the prelate, who doubtleſs merited a great part of the ſuſpicion, was well aware. But having no bowels of compaſſion, he was only uneaſy, leſt, if he were not ſupported in the commiſſion of his cruelties, by farther power, he might experience an equal fate with Laud, the more relenting metropolitan of the king's leſs perſecuting father. Sharp, therefore, urged all his great credit at court, to procure in Scotland, a *court of Inquiſition*, or as himſelf was pleaſed to term it,

it, an High Commiſſion for Church Affairs; and with very little difficulty he procured it. To the archbiſhop this grant had been doubly deſirable; for in the firſt place, the privy-council, with which he was not very cordial, was thrown out of any ſhare in eccleſiaſtical government; and ſecondly, the number of members of his inquiſition, he judged would ſerve in a great meaſure to wipe off any particular odium which had already been, or might in future be, caſt upon himſelf. From the temper of the man, it is very natural to imagine, that he ſtrove as much as poſſible to keep the great ſhare which he had in this buſineſs, a profound ſecret. This court of high commiſſion was in power, unbounded, being authoriſed "to take cognizance of, and puniſh all offenders, who went about corrupting and diſaffecting people from their allegiance, reſpect, and obedience to the laws, and all who expreſſed their diſſatisfaction to his majeſty's authority, by contravening acts of parliament, or council, in relation to church affairs." Its members were the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, the lord Montroſe, the earls of Argyle, Athol, Eglington, Linlithgow, Hume, Galloway, Annandale, Tweedale, Leven, Murray; the biſhops of Edinburgh, of Galloway, of Dunkeld, of Aberdeen, of Breechin, of Argyle, and of the Iſles; the lords Drumlanerk, Pitſligo, Fraſer, Cockran, Halkertoun, and Bellenden; the preſident of the ſeſſion, the regiſter, the advocate, ſir John Hume juſtice clerk, Mr. Charles Maitland, the laird of Philorth elder, ſir Andrew Ramſay, ſir William Thomſon; the provoſts of St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glaſgow, Air, and Dumfries, ſir James Turner, and the dean of Guild of Edinburgh. Five of theſe, including particularly, an archbiſhop or a biſhop, were conſtituted a quorum; and every officer in the kingdom, whether civil or military, was to obey their commands.

Sharp

Sharp was now ſatisfied, and he declared to the king, that he could aſk no more. Nor had he reaſon; for from ſuch a motley court of biſhops, peers, military officers, and common magiſtrates, veſted with ſo abſolute an authority, what could be expected, but the moſt unaccountable, unjuſt and cruel proceedings? Such accordingly followed; perſecution ſallied forth with all her mercileſs attendants; and the wretched preſbyterians, whilſt papiſts reclined in ſecurity and at eaſe, were devoted victims to her barbarous power.

The ſufferings of theſe men, which are very properly called thoſe of the church of Scotland, for ſeveral years, under this deteſtable commiſſion, have filled two volumes in folio; without entering therefore, into any particulars, it is ſufficient here to ſay, that in point of ſeverity they equalled,--- and allowing for a proteſtant country perhaps exceeded--a Spaniſh inquiſition; and muſt for ever riſe in judgment againſt the infamous contriver.

Oppreſſed with ſuch a weight of calamities, it can be matter of little wonder to learn that in 1666 the people in the weſtern part of Scotland, which was the moſt laden, grew deſperate. They attempted, to throw off the general burden; and putting themſelves, to the number of 2000, under the command of one Wallace, they ſeized on Turner, who was then in that part of the kingdom, and were about to put him to death, when reading his inſtructions, and finding that even that bad man had not acted up to the full rigor of them, they generouſly ſpared him. Advancing to Pentland-hills, they were there oppoſed, on the 28th of November, by general Dalziel, whoſe ſuperiority of cavalry, in the engagment which immediately enſued, occaſioned their total defeat. Few were killed, Dalziel's troops taking particular care to make as many as poſſible priſoners, that they might be

be reſerved for the cool, and therefore more cruel purpoſes of a future barbarity; Wallace their leader eſcaped to Holland.

On notice of this defeat, the council ſequeſtered the eſtates of all the inſurgents into the hands of the lord treaſurer. The poor wretches themſelves, who were made captive, were crouded into a narrow loathſome dungeon without light or air, where they experienced ſuch miſery, as the reader may form ſome idea of, by recollecting the ſufferings of their countrymen not many years ago in the Black Hole at India, which was a ſimilar place of confinement. Such as ſurvived their impriſonment, were brought to light only to ſuffer the moſt inhuman, the moſt excruciating torments. The circumſtances of which are thus deſcribed, and commented on, by that copious and accurate hiſtorian Mr. Guthrie: "Their puniſhment came under the cognizance of the council; and the common queſtion was agitated, whether by their receiving quarter in the field, it was not underſtood that their lives ſhould be ſpared? It paſſed in the negative. Ten of the moſt conſiderable of the priſoners were tried, and hanged with circumſtances of ſeverity, if not injuſtice. Some of the priſoners ſuffered the inhuman torture called the Boots, which was inflicted by the leg being put into a caſe, into which wedges were gradually driven by iron hammers; and if the accuſed did not anſwer to the interrogatories as his tormentors pleaſed, the bone of the leg was ſhattered to pieces, and the ſubſtance of it converted into a jelly. Nothing could be drawn from the ſufferers, but that oppreſſion and injuſtice had impelled them to take arms. Commiſſions were iſſued through all parts of the weſt for trying the priſoners; and executions became ſo frequent, that the hangmen themſelves relented, and refuſed to perform their office; and one of them

even preſented a long and ſerious remonſtrance in his own vindication. Had the rebellion been unprovoked, it muſt have been inexcuſable; but the inſurgents were far from being of ſanguinary diſpoſitions, as appears from the gentle treatment they gave to ſir James Turner, one of their capital enemies. The circumſtances of the executions were atrocious; and though I cannot aſcertain the preciſe number, yet they were ſo frequent as to produce from court an order, under the hand of Charles himſelf, that no more blood ſhould be ſpilt."

The odium of all theſe ſeverities, as this writer obſerves, fell upon archbiſhop Sharp, who, ſeconded by the archbiſhop of Glaſgow, not only continued the executions againſt the king's expreſs order, but even propoſed to hang up every man in the kingdom who would not renounce the covenant and conform to epiſcopacy. On this report, the principal covenanters fled to Holland; but one Mitchell, who is repreſented to be a young enthuſiaſtic preacher, reſolved to aſſaſſinate the author of their diſtreſſes. He accordingly, in July 1668, diſcharged a piſtol at Sharp in his coach, who, however, received no harm; and Mitchell, whom nobody offered to ſtop, walked cooly off to his lodgings, and eſcaped at that time all ſuſpicion, but two years after he was executed for the attempt.

Sharp, it is ſaid, was now under a
1669. cloud with even his maſter Charles, tho' he ſoon recovered his favour, and recommenced his ſeverities. In the foregoing year, a militia had been raiſed, conſiſting of 20,000 horſe and foot, maintained by a tax on land, which, as has ſince been but too cuſtomary, was very unequally aſſeſſed. Thus ſupported, Sharp ventured to fine the magiſtrates of Edinburgh in 50*l.* ſterling for ſuffering a ſingle conventicle to be held in that city;

city; and he and his brethren were employed day and night in iſſuing mandates for ſuppreſſing conventicles, and for puniſhing thoſe who frequented them. To mention the tranſactions of the two or three years following, would be nothing more than a needleſs repetition; the ſame ſchemes were adopted; yet new acts (which however were merely ſupplimental) were found wanting, and were accordingly procured.

But in the year 1672, the earl of Lauderdale, coming into play, and being veſted with great power, ſome indulgence in religious opinions was granted; but this indulgence proved as it was intended, more in favour of papiſts than the preſbyterians. Three years afterwards, on that nobleman's decline, perſecutions were again renewed. And in the year 1676, the ſpirit of witch-burning ſo prevailed, as reflected no ſmall diſgrace on the ſenſe and learning of prelates, and ſeemed to threaten the extinction of every old woman in the kingdom.

The fertile genius of Sharp for every thing wicked, now deviſed a ſcheme which was truly diabolical: He propoſed to iſſue commiſſions for raiſing and arming the Highlanders, (excluſive of the ſtanding forces and of the militia) and of turning them looſe in all parts amongſt the covenanters, to riot at diſcretion. He gained this horrid point; and in February 1678, 6000 Highlanders marched forwards and were particularly diſperſed over Cunningham and Kyle, where, as well as in every other place, through which they paſſed, or in which they were quartered, they behaved as if they had been in the land of a moſt inveterate enemy. 1677.

About a month previous to their march was the execution of Mitchell. He had endured the torture with ſuch fortitude as acquitted him by the

laws of his country. But at length, the generous motive of preventing the torments of others, who were apprehended on ſuſpicion, backed by a promiſe of life and limb, induced him to confeſs that he was the perſon who ſhot off the piſtol. On this declaration, the faithleſs and unrelenting archbiſhop, repreſenting, that, if Mitchell were ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, he might not only renew his attempt, but excite others to aſſiſt him; and as in that caſe his life muſt be expoſed to every villain, he inſiſted that Mitchell (notwithſtanding his pardon had been entered in the council-book) ſhould be executed; ſaying, "Let him glorify God in the Graſs-market," alluding to the place of execution.

But Mitchell's death, together with the Highlander's cruelties, both which were reflected on with horror and deteſtation, haſtened in all probability that circumſtance which Mitchell's puniſhment was intended to prevent. For, in the year following, the archbiſhop, who, according to Mr. Wodrow, was then inventing new and more violent projects, was way-laid, in a journey to his dioceſe, by nine perſons, (ſome of whom were men of fortune) with a prepared and determined reſolution, ſay ſome, to diſpatch him; whilſt others repreſent the tragedy which enſued, as the effect of a ſudden guſt of paſſion, on the ſight of a man by whom they and their friends had ſuffered ſo much, on a lone heath, and attended only by four or five ſervants. But however this may be, which is very immaterial as to the fact,---David Hackſtoun of Rathillet, John Balfour of Kinloch, George Balfour of Gilſtoun, James Ruſſel in King's-kettle, Robert Dingwall, Andrew Guillan, Alexander Henderſon, Andrew Henderſon, and George Fleming, met the archbiſhop and his daughter in a coach on the 3d of May; and ſhouting out "The Lord has

S. Wale delin.

T. Simpson

has delivered him into our hands," they then ſtopped his horſes, cut his traces, and binding his ſervants, they dragged him from his carriage, after having diſcharged their carbines at him without doing him any hurt, a circumſtance, which, according to the humour of the times, was then attributed to magic. Believing him to be proof againſt bullets, they aſſaulted him with their ſwords, and regardleſs of his cries and entreaties, they executed their purpoſe in a manner, barbarous indeed, but ſuch as might be expected from perſons of warm diſpoſitions, when the grand object of their hatred was in their power, and they conceived it meritorious, even in the ſight of God, to deſtroy him. Thus ſtopped in his bloody career, was James Sharp archbiſhop of St. Andrews, between whoſe character, as well as fate, there is ſuch a ſtriking reſemblance with thoſe of cardinal Beatoun, that the reader, without any farther aſſiſtance, may draw the parallel.

Though the preſbyterians in general affected highly to diſapprove this violent proceeding in their nine enthuſiaſtic brethren, yet as the fact was irrevocably done, they bleſſed God, and adored his righteous providence, for the general good which they fondly imagined would reſult from this particular evil. Contrary, however, to their expectations, as it was oppoſite to juſtice, the commiſſioners ſtigmatized the whole body for this offence of a few, and on them revenged the death of this their chief member, by redoubled ſeverities. As to the actual perpetrators, it does not appear that any of them, excepting Hackſtoun, could, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearch, be apprehended. Two years afterwards, this man was taken, and in a ſummary way condemned. He was ſo little fearful of death, that when previous to his execution, his hands, according to his ſentence,

were amputated, he aſked, with great compoſure, if they choſe to cut off his feet: he vaulted from the ſcaffold, and after he was hanged, his heart being cut out, it was obſerved, as ſome ſay, to palpitate on the knife.

Thoſe covenanters who ſtill remained in the kingdom, being by the ſeverity of the government harraſſed and hunted again into rebellion, were forced once more to try their fortune in the field. Eighty of them, headed by a young preacher, one Hamilton, firſt aſſembled in arms at Rutherglen in Clydſdale. Theſe, Graham of Calverhouſe, a man who was ever forward to execute ſanguinary purpoſes, was ordered to ſuppreſs. But though he attacked them whilſt at prayers, Hamilton, whoſe forces were then augmented to thrice their original number, repulſed that able officer, killed thirty of his men, and had very nearly numbered him amongſt forty or fifty whom they took priſoners.

On this ſucceſs, they took heart, and became more enterpriſing: and as their number daily increaſed, they at length poſſeſſed themſelves of Glaſgow. Having expelled the eſtabliſhed clergy, they ſent forth a proclamation, under the name of "The oppreſſed proteſtants, now in arms in Scotland," declaring, that they fought in defence of their religion and liberties, againſt popery, prelacy, and the king's ſupremacy. As they committed but little diſorder, they were quietly ſuffered to aſſemble, and be joined by their brethren, that, as there was ſufficient force in the kingdom at any time to cruſh them, the victors might be inriched by the greater number of forfeited eſtates.

Mean time, ſuch an exaggerated account of their inſurrection and of their force was tranſmitted to London, that Charles thought it expedient to ſend his ſon the duke of Monmouth into Scotland, to head his forces. He was ordered not to treat, but

to

to fight, with the diſſidents. He ſpeedily arrived at Edinburgh, marched againſt them at the head of the Scottiſh guards and ſome regiments of militia, having Dalziel for his lieutenant, and encountered them at Bothwell-bridge. Unable to ſtand the fire of his artillery, Hamilton, who is ſaid to have been deficient both in courage and conduct, fled with ſeveral of his followers in great confuſion. On which upwards of twelve hundred, without ſtriking a ſtroke, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners, and ſeven hundred were killed in the purſuit. The duke viewed his miſerable captives with an eye of compaſſion. He engaged to procure ſome mitigation of their ſufferings; and in the mean while he diſmiſſed ſuch as promiſed to live peaceably, notwithſtanding they might ſuffer ſome rigor under their preſent governnmt. Three hundred proving refractory were ſhipped off to America and died in the voyage.

Monmouth gained this victory on the 22d of June, and having iſſued proclamations againſt harbouring ſuch of the diſſidents as had been in arms, and who, on his promiſe of pardon, had not ſurrendered themſelves, he on the 6th of July following ſet out for London. Thus terminated this inſurrection, and happy was it for the diſſenters that their conqueror was of a diſpoſition ſo heroic. He performed his promiſe to them by procuring an act from his father, which was not a little in their favour; but coming through the hands of the Scotch commiſſioners, they took care to clog it in ſuch a manner, as almoſt to marr its utility. Synods and public aſſemblies, however, were now permitted, and 'tis thought that Monmouth, with a view to popularity, would have intereſted himſelf greatly in the diſſenting cauſe. But the generous duke, who was the darling of the Engliſh, and greatly eſteemed by the Scots, had ſoon after his return (for matters

foreign to this hiſtory) incurred his majeſty's diſpleaſure. This unhappy circumſtance was ſeverely felt in Scotland, whither the duke of York, now reconciled to the king his brother, was ſent towards the cloſe of the year as his vice-roy.

1680. The duke's character was every way oppoſite to that of Monmouth; cruel, bigotted, headſtrong; indulgence hung her head, and under his auſpices perſecution triumphed. His highneſs ſoon called a parliament, and paſſed many acts equally unconſtitutional, inconſiſtent, and oppreſſive. One of theſe was the noted ſtatute impoſing, on perſons in office, a teſt-oath, by which they were to acknowledge the king's ſupremacy, renounce the covenant, and embrace the doctrine of paſſive obedience; notwithſtanding that a confeſſion of faith was at the ſame time ratified, as, in ſome reſpect, inculcated maxims of lawful reſiſtance. Such an abſurd act, it is no wonder that few eccleſiaſtics of ſenſe or decency could digeſt. Many, conſequently, rather than take the oath, reſigned their livings. But whilſt the creatures of the court, and their tools the biſhops, ſwallowed every abſurdity it contained, the earl of Argyle refuſed to ſubſcribe to it, any further than it was conſiſtent with itſelf and the proteſtant religion. The duke by this was greatly diſpleaſed; and as Argyle was a man of power, and a preſbyterian, his ruin, from that time, was reſolved on. And accordingly the good earl in 1681 was proceeded againſt with ſuch unjuſt and ſhameful ſeverity, that meerly on this account he was tried for leaſing-making and perjury, and being convicted, by a jury packed for the purpoſe, he was condemned to die. Being reſpited, however, till the king's pleaſure ſhould be known, and underſtanding, by ſuch perſons whom he had commiſſioned to intercede with Charles in his behalf, that he

he was to expect neither juſtice nor mercy, he ſeizeda lucky opportunity to make his eſcape and fled to Holland.

From this time, his highneſs acted in Scotland with ſuch deſpotiſm, as if he were reſolved to root up the very conſtitution. By his order the ſolemn league and covenant was, with great formality, committed to the flames. The earl of Aberdeen, who is called the Jefferies of Scotland, was made chancellor; and agreeably to that title he acted with ſuch ceaſeleſs ſeverity againſt diſſenters, for two years, that during this period their ſufferings alone form the hiſtory of the kingdom. Women with child, and with ſucking children at their breaſts, were impriſoned, and, in their confinement, ill-treated. The houſe of a father was no ſhelter for even ſtriplings, who, on the ſlighteſt miſdemeanor were tranſported, as ſlaves, to Jamaica or America; and this puniſhment was deemed mild. Indeed it was really ſo, when compared with the ſufferings of others, who being told by ſome ignorant enthuſiaſtic preachers, that to ſay "God ſave the king" was idolatrous, were, to the number of thirty, hanged up for their refuſal. Many, unable to bear their hardſhips, abandoned their native country, and made a ſettlement in Carolina. Whilſt others of a diſpoſition artful and vindictive, made uſe of this ſcheme in order to join their ſuffering friends in England, who maintained a correſpondence with Argyle in Holland, and were ripe for a revolt. 1682.

They deeply engaged themſelves with the projectors of the Rye-houſe plot; Argyle was to ſupply them with arms, and the duke of Monmouth was to furniſh them with money. But the plot miſcarried, and Bailie of Jerviſwood, a man of integrity and abilities, who managed the Scottiſh part in it, was apprehended and ſent priſoner to Scot-

land. But though nothing capital could be proved againſt him, it was the duke's pleaſure that he ſhould ſuffer. He was accordingly convicted of treaſon; and leſt, being almoſt reduced to the brink of the grave, a natural death ſhould diſappoint the duke's vengeance, he was executed immediately after his trial.

1685. There now ſeemed to reign in Scotland an univerſal anarchy. The common people, deprived of their paſtors, who on divers pretexts were either baniſhed, impriſoned, or murdered, rolled in a ſea of troubles without rudder or compaſs. They aſſembled in numberleſs petty ſocieties, publiſhed ſeveral papers, which at that time were called treaſonable, and promulgated the doctrine of Knox. On theſe proceedings the blood-hounds of perſecution were let looſe, and worried them to death inceſſantly.

The following order, from the council, which was executed with great punctuality, will fully ſerve to characterize this barbarous period: "It being put to the vote in council, whether or not any perſon, who owns, or does not diſown, the late traiterous declarations upon oath, whether they have arms or not, ſhould be immediately killed before two witneſſes, and the perſon or perſons who are to have inſtruction from the council for that effect? Carried in the affirmative." "The lords of his majeſty's privy council do hereby ordain any perſon, who owns, or does not diſown, the late treaſonable declarations upon oath, whether they have arms or not, to be immediately put to death; this being always done in the preſence of two witneſſes, and the perſon or perſons having commiſſion from the council for that effect."

The duke had now returned to England, accompanied, notwithſtanding all his horrid cruelties, with encomiums from the ſervile biſhops of Scotland,

Scotland, on his mild adminiſtration in that kingdom. But Charles well knew that this was all deceit. He ſeems at this time to have thought that his brother, in point of ſeverity, had exceeded his commiſſion, and that it was rather his intereſt to tolerate than perſecute the preſbyterians.

Lord Perth, who governed Scotland in the duke's abſence, was every day deviſing for that wretched people a freſh ſpecies of torture. He beheld their agonies with viſible ſatisfaction, and ſcrutinized their writhings and convulſions with the moſt inhuman curioſity and exactneſs. The duke of York had done the ſame: but the king now ordered Perth to deſiſt, and his brother to repair back again to Scotland, call a freſh adminiſtration, and endeavour by gentle uſage to make the diſſenters his friends. York by no means reliſhed this command, and he would fain have evaded it; but the king peremptorily ſaying "Brother, either you muſt go or I," he began to make preparations for his journey. But before his departure, it was prevented effectually by a circumſtance which to him, was no doubt extremely agreeable. It was the king's death, that happened on the 6th of February.

Suſpicions flew about that he had been poiſoned, eſpecially as when he was embowelled his inteſtines were not permitted, it is ſaid, to be properly examined; and there aroſe from his whole body a moſt loathſome ſtench. Many lit on his brother, who nevertheleſs ſucceeded him, without the leaſt riot or ſhadow of oppoſition. The king's death very likely aroſe from an apoplexy; or he might have been carried off by the devices of the jeſuits, who at that time governed France and Spain, as well as the duke of York; their ſchemes were not to be unriddled nor their ſecrets diſcovered.

The king when he died had reigned over Scotland thirty-four years, and was in the 54th year of

of his age. A popiſh prieſt during his illneſs, adminiſtered to him the ſacrament; and in the communion of the Romiſh church he expired. Two papers, written with his own hand, in its defence, were diſcovered in his cloſet, and to the further injury of his memory they were publiſhed by his ſucceſſor.

JAMES VII.

1685. THOUGH James never took the coronation oath, nor received the crown, without diſcuſſing the queſtion which on this occaſion naturally occurs, hiſtorians in general intitle him king of Scotland. Officers were continued in their reſpective places, and the government flowed on in its wonted channel. Perth, in order to ingratiate himſelf with his new maſter, embraced his religion, and he marked his change of faith by freſh puniſhment of the diſſenters. Women were not exempted from his cruelties: previous to tranſportation, they were either ſeverely whipped, or branded with hot irons; and two were inhumanly drowned, being tied to ſtakes fixed within the flood-mark, in the water of Badenoch near Wigtoun.

But now the earl of Argyle, for the baſe uſage he had received, was meditating revenge. Mrs. Smith, a wealthy and zealous widow in Amſterdam, had preſented him with ten thouſand pounds ſterling, to purchaſe ammunition and arms. His intended invaſion being no ſecret, a proclamation was iſſued for putting Scotland in a poſture of defence. The views of Argyle, in this invaſion, are not very clear. Some are of opinion that, as he gave the king no other title than that of James duke

duke of Albany and York, he probably aſpired to the crown; others imagined that, as colonel Rumbold the famous republican accompanied him, he intended to aboliſh monarchy and eſtabliſh a commonwealth: but whatever his ſchemes were, the ill ſucceſs of his expedition not only rendered them abortive, but deprived him of life. The earl and his followers landed at a place called Tobermore in the iſle of Mull; from thence they proceeded to Kintyre, where his eſtates lay, and there he was joined by ſir Duncan Campbell at the head of 1200 men. Argyle, however, was ſo little capable of making a formidable appearance, that his whole forces did not amount to two thouſand; and theſe ſplit and divided into many diſagreeable parties, ſo that no regular plan of operation could be purſued. Rumbold, who commanded one of the regiments, ſeized the caſtle of Ardkinglaſs, where he was ſoon blocked up. Argyle, with the reſt of his forces proceeded into the Lowlands; but being obliged to leave his magazines behind him in the caſtle of Allangreg, they, to his utter ruin, fell into the hands of the earl of Dumbarton, who was following him at the head of a pretty conſiderable army. Agyle endeavoured to repair this loſs by attempting a march to Glaſgow; but, being miſ-led by his guides, he fell in with Dumbarton. On this event, the moſt part of his followers thought only of providing for their own ſafety; and melting themſelves into ſmall bodies, they eſcaped imperceptibly.

The poor earl, thus deſerted, quitted his horſe, and attempted to make his eſcape by croſſing the river of Inchannark; but a countryman following him in, took him priſoner up to his neck in water. He was ſtraightway conducted to Edinburgh, where, in a very little time, and without undergoing the formality of a ſecond trial, he was beheaded,

beheaded, purſuant to his former ſentence; whilſt, in England, the duke of Monmouth, experiencing the like bad ſucceſs, ſhared the ſame fate.

1686. Few now but papiſts were preferred in either kingdom to vacant offices of truſt and emolument. James mightily extolled the loyalty of his Romiſh ſubjects in Scotland, and deſired in a letter to the ſtates that they might be allowed all poſſible indulgence, and by way of inſuring the due performance of his pleaſure, in this reſpect, the earl of Murray, who was a ſtrong one, was appointed high commiſſioner. But an event ſoon took place, which was no leſs diſagreeable to the king, than it was, in itſelf, ſudden, unexpected, and extraordinary. At a very full parliament, which met in the ſummer of this year, the members almoſt unanimouſly ſtood up in ſupport of their religious liberties. The preſs, which in the former two reigns had been carefully locked up, now regained her liberty, and ſhortly teemed with the moſt zealous performances againſt the indulgence of papiſts: whilſt others reaſoned after the moſt daring manner in defence of the diſpenſing power. "It may be argued (ſaid one) that by refuſing to conſent to this moderate eaſe to papiſts, a moſt dangerous, and almoſt an incurable blow and wound may be occaſioned to the proteſtant church and religion; for if the king pleaſe (and if he be irritated and provoked it is hard to ſay what his majeſty will do) he may, without violating any law, at one ſtroke, remove all proteſtant officers and judges from the government of the ſtate, and all proteſtant biſhops from the government of the church; and ſo the whole government, both of church and ſtate, may come to be lodged in the hands of ſuch as cannot be judged ſo friendly to the proteſtant intereſt: and is not the excluſion of proteſtants from all power or authority, either in church

church or ſtate, a greater hurt and prejudice to our religion, than any thing that can enſue upon a few papiſts enjoying their eſtates and lives? nay, and what if his majeſty ſhould proceed, upon this juſt provocation, to fill all thoſe places with papiſts? if he ſhould, we muſt ſubmit; and are tied by our principles and religion not to reſiſt."

But the Scotch parliament ſoon made it apparent that this language contained mere ſophiſtry; ſince if ſuch things ſhould ever be attempted, they declared themſelves determined to join in oppoſition. From hence muſt be conceived a moſt venerable reſpect for parliaments, which, generally ſpeaking, are the bulwarks of liberty. James might have baffled a few of his ſubjects, however ſenſibly and ſteadily they might have thwarted him; but he found, that it was impoſſible to carry a diſagreeable point againſt an united parliament. James therefore to procure any degree of eaſe for his Romiſh ſubjects in Scotland, was obliged to tolerate all modes of religion by aboliſhing the teſt. He performed this matter, however, intirely in the ſtile of an abſolute monarch; for in a proclamation iſſued on the 5th of July 1687, it was ſaid that "the king, by his ſovereign authority, and prerogative royal, and abſolute power, ſuſpends, ſtops, and diſables, all penal and ſanguinary laws for non-conformity to the religion eſtabliſhed by law."

The preſbyterians, believing that the abolition of the teſt was principally intended for their advantage, were eager to return his majeſty an addreſs of thanks. But finding that the papiſts gained ground every day, they were ſoon of another way of thinking, and accordingly repented of their haſty conduct, in addreſſing the king before the motives of his conduct had been thoroughly known.

Towards

Towards the beginning of this year 1688. there was a public thanſgiving in Scotland, on account of the queen's declared pregnancy. And news came in the ſummer that ſhe was brought to bed of a ſon. On this occaſion the papiſts were tranſported with the moſt extravagant joy; whilſt, from a variety of probable and ſtrong circumſtances, the preſbyterians, and the favourers of the prince of Orange, adopted a notion that the birth was altogether ſuppoſititious. Burnet, the writer of the hiſtory of thoſe times, is a great ſtickler for this opinion, which he laboured to propagate. But (as the judicious hiſtorian, before quoted, has ſaid) ſuch a ſuſpicion, though principally adopted by the whigs, is to the cauſe of liberty rather injurious: for, whilſt it was conſidered as a ſpurious offspring, a great part of the merit of the glorious revolution muſt evaporate, becauſe ſome doubt muſt ariſe in the mind, what the event might have been had the birth been real. The principles upon which the revolution was founded, have no regard to ſuch ſuppoſitions; for they muſt have taken place independent of all conſideration of the birth, or of any right derived to the offspring of the king and queen. So that upon the whole, the fundamenta's of the Britiſh conſtitution ſeem apparently to be weakened, by admitting a queſtion of this unhappy birth.

Great was the joy in England on the happy arrival of the prince of Orange; and as ſoon as the important event was known in Scotland, that country rang with ſhouts of approbation. But when this piece of news was ſucceeded by an account that James had made his pitiful retreat, the joyous Scots ran riot in their expreſſions of ſatisfaction; whilſt many of the nobility and gentry inſtantly repaired to London, the populace, eager to expreſs their abhorrence of James, and his popiſh miniſters, aſſembled in bodies,

dies, patrolled the ſtreets, and every where inſulted both papiſts and epiſcopalians. The earl of Perth, unable to controul their intemperance, and being apprehenſive for his own ſafety, having been compelled, on the prince of Orange's ſucceſs, to diſband the army, reſigned the great ſeal, and retired from Edinburgh; and the biſhops, more out of fear for themſelves than any other motive, ran haſtily to London, where they chimed in with the tone of the Engliſh. The populace, thus left to themſelves, grew very riotous The king's chapel at Holyrood-houſe, which had been fitted up in the moſt ſuperb ſtile, having been intended for a popiſh ſeminary, was deſpoiled of all its images, ornaments, and rich furniture; and in general every houſe of note, which belonged to a papiſt, ſhared the ſame fate. In every ſtreet his holineſs was burnt in effigy; and *down with popery* was the univerſal cry. The vulgar, having ſufficiently tired themſelves with theſe exploits, grew calm; and paid obedience to the commands of the marquis of Athol, who being reated to the houſe of Orange, had, on Perth's retirement, taken the lead in government.

Mean time, the nobility and gentry, who had poſted to London, were invited to St. James's, where the prince of Orange aſked their advice concerning the affairs of Scotland. For mature deliberation, they repaired to Whitehall, and choſe the duke of Hamilton their preſident. The earl of Arran, Hamilton's ſon, propoſed that an addreſs ſhould be ſent to James, deſiring him to return to Scotland, and aſſemble a free parliament; but this motion being univerſally condemned, it was reſolved, that the prince of Orange ſhould be invited to aſſume the reins of government in Scotland, and appoint a general meeting of the ſtates on the 14th of March. The prince received their offer in very obliging terms; and then the members

of

of this council returned to Edinburgh. They found on their arrival, that the duke of Gordon had poſſeſſed himſelf of the caſtle of Edinburgh in behalf of king James. They therefore proclaimed him a traitor, and beſieged the caſtle in form; but the duke had the addreſs to manage his affairs in ſuch a manner, that after having endured a three month's ſiege he obtained very favourable terms for himſelf and the whole garriſon.

On the meeting of the Scotch parliament, they proceeded immediately to nominate a committee for ſettling the government. Eight lords, eight knights, and eight burgeſſes, were accordingly appointed to manage this great affair. In the courſe of their proceedings, no man diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than ſir John Dalrymple: he entered at once on the queſtion with vaſt ſtrength of argument; and having blamed the Engliſh for their childiſh debates on the words *abdicated* and *deſerted*, which, he conceived to be equally immaterial, when the throne was declared vacant, he propoſed the following vote, and it met with the moſt ready aſſent: "The eſtates of the kingdom of Scotland find and declare, that king James the 7th, being a profeſſed papiſt, did aſſume the royal power, and acted as a king, without ever taking the oath required by law; and had, by the advice of evil and wicked counſellors, invaded the fundamental conſtitution of this kingdom, and altered it from a legal and limited monarchy to an arbitrary deſpotic power; and had governed the ſame to the ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion, and violation of the laws and liberties of the nation, inverting all ends of government, whereby he had *forfeited the right* of the crown, and the throne was become vacant."

James, together with his poſterity, being, by this vote, cut off from any right to the crown of Scotland, an act directly paſſed for ſettling it upon king William

William and queen Mary. Sir John Dalrymple, and ſir James Montgomery, were then deputed to make them a ſolemn tender of the crown. Thoſe gentlemen were received with great courteſy; and their majeſties accordingly took the coronation oath, tho' not till king William, obſerving a paſſage therein which required the extirpation of papiſts, and other enemies to the true worſhip of God, had declared, to his immortal honour, that he took the oath in no ſenſe which might ſubject himſelf to promote, encourage, or even to countenance perſecution.

WILLIAM AND MARY.

1689. THE king, immediately on his coronation, proceeded to ſettle the adminiſtration of Scotland. The duke of Hamilton was appointed high commiſſioner, and lord Melvil, who had known his majeſty in Holland, was made ſecretary of ſtate. The great ſeal was committed to the cuſtody of the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Argyle, and the earl of Sutherland; the privy ſeal to the earl of Forfar, the earl of Kintore, and the lord Carmichael; the treaſury was intruſted with the earl of Crawford, the earl of Caſſils, the earl of Tweedale, the lord Ruthven, and the maſter of Melvil; and the office of clerk-regiſter was filled by the lord Belhaven and four others.

At the meeting of the parliament, on the 17th day of June, the ſettlement of the church came firſt and principally under conſideration. It was voted "that prelacy and ſuperiority of any office in the church, above preſbyters, is, and has been, a great and inſupportable grievance and trouble to this

this nation, and contrary to the inclination of the generality of the people ever ſince the reformation, and therefore it ought to be aboliſhed." Epiſcopacy in Scotland, was thus finally exploded; tho' it is ſaid, that the re-eſtabliſhment of preſbytery was attended, at firſt, by the moſt terrible abuſes. The old epiſcopal miniſters were not barely deprived of their livings, but are reported to have been driven with their wives and children into the fields, where many of them, through a cruel negligence, periſhed by cold and hunger. As there was, however, no law in being that theſe exiles ſhould not be aſſiſted or relieved, the ſufferings which they underwent do not affect the legiſlature, though the want of compaſſion which the Scots in general teſtified on theſe occaſions, ſtrongly mark their abhorrence of epiſcopacy, whilſt the grievances, which they had ſo lately experienced under that form of church-government, may plead ſome excuſe for the mal-treatment of its mercenary tools and officers.

The parliament having thus ſettled their religion, they totally aboliſhed that iniquitous committee called the Lords of Articles; and, in fine, rectified ſeparately every abuſe which had been permitted in the two reigns preceding.

Although king William was now firmly
1690. eſtabliſhed on the throne of Scotland, the viſcount of Dundee perſiſted in the cauſe of the abdicated James. Retiring to the Highlands, he ſummoned the clans to join him, and entered Lochabar at the head of two thouſand men. James had ſpurred on this nobleman by the promiſe of a numerous reinforcement from Ireland, where he then was; inſtead of which, Dundee only received about three hundred naked recruits. Mean time, general Mackay advanced with William's forces as far as the paſs of Killikrankie; and the

the viſcount, notwithſtanding his diſappointment, determined to attack him; which he did with ſuch vigour, ſword in hand, that Mackay's troops gave way and were totally defeated. But as the victory was purchaſed with the loſs of the viſcount himſelf, who fell by a random ſhot as he was giving orders about the purſuit, the rebels, upon the loſs of their leader, who was the life of James's cauſe, made no proper uſe of their good fortune, but, as is moſt commonly the caſe with mercenaries, buſied themſelves wholly in plunder. Shortly afterwards, however, theſe Highlanders were headed by ſir Hugh Cameron of Lochiel. He attempted to ſurpriſe the town of Inverneſs, after which he marched to Strathſpey in the county of Murray, where he received ſome ammunition, cloaths, and arms, which James in two frigates had ſent from Dublin, under the care of colonel Buchan, who had orders to command what forces could be raiſed in his name. But Buchan had ſcarcely joined Cameron, and put himſelf at the head of his Highlanders, ere a Dutch colonel of the name of Levingſton, with about three thouſand men, attacked and defeated him at a place called Cromdell. Levingſton having received no orders to make the moſt of victory, all the Highlanders, excepting about four hundred, who were either killed or taken priſoners, were allowed to retire without purſuit; and though ſometime afterwards they were promiſed a pardon by king William if they would conform to his government, they refuſed the offer at the inſtigation of Cameron, who would never treat, he ſaid, with the prince of Orange.

1691. King William pitied the miſtaken notions of theſe people, and was exceedingly willing to procure their allegiance; which the earl of Breadalbane undertook to effect, provided he were

were furniſhed with fifteen thouſand pounds. The earl accordingly received the money, and he intended to have parcelled it out among the heads of the Highland clans; but he ſoon found that he had engaged for more than it was in his power to perform. Cameron indeed promiſed to acknowledge the king's authority and live peaceably, but though military execution was denounced againſt ſuch as would not take the oaths before the cloſe of the year, Macdonald of Glencoe refuſed to ſubmit. Breadalbane, piqued by the inefficacy of his ſcheme, and particularly exaſperated againſt Macdonald, who, beſides his refuſal, had committed ſome depredations on his eſtates, repreſented the obſtinacy of this jacobite in ſuch ſtrong terms, that orders came from king William to puniſh him and his tenants as by proclamation had been threatened. Macdonald, meantime, intimidated by this declaration, determined to take the oaths; but the obſtinacy of his temper hindered him from ſetting about the performance of this reſolution till the very laſt day of December. He then repaired to Fort William with an intention to ſwear allegiance before colonel Hill the governor: but as it unluckily happened, that this officer was no civil magiſtrate, Macdonald was referred to ſir Colin Campbell, high ſheriff for the county of Argyle. Before he reached that place, the proclamation was elapſed, and therefore though the ſheriff had adminiſtered to him the oath, the Highlander and his clan were yet expoſed to puniſhment.

1692. Breadalbane ſeems to have been reſolved not to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity to glut his vengeance; and the king being ignorant of Macdonald's ſubmiſſion, captain Campbell of Glenlyen was ordered to march with a body of troops into the valley of Glencoe to inflict the puniſhment which had been threatened, but

but under pretence of collecting the land-tax. When they arrived, Macdonald aſked whether they were to be greeted as friends or enemies; and Campbell declaring that they came as friends, the old Highlander took him into his own houſe, where he was treated with the moſt cordial hoſpitality. The inhabitants in general threw aſide their firſt ſuſpicions, and loaded their viſitors with repeated tokens of friendſhip, little ſuſpecting that theſe very men were ſhortly to butcher them, being charged with ſtrict orders to ſecure all the paſſes in the vally, ſo that none might eſcape, and that no priſoners ſhould be made, that the execution might be as terrible as poſſible. The night before this ſad ſcene was to be exhibited, Macdonald and Campbell, having ſpent the evening together at cards, parted with reciprocal profeſſions of regard. But Macdonald's two ſons, obſerving that the guards had been doubled, ſuſpected ſome treachery, and privately went forth in ſearch of ſuch circumſtances as might corroborate their ſuſpicion. They accordingly overheard the guards proteſt "that they liked not the work; they would openly fight the Macdonalds of the Glen, but, though they muſt comply with orders, they thought it cowardly and baſe to murder them in their beds." The youths, who were now paſt doubt of their danger, ran haſtily homeward to appriſe their father. But it was too late. They found his houſe ſurrounded by guards; and being without arms they ſaved their lives by flight, juſt as the maſſacre began. Old Macdonald was ſhot through the head in the arms of his lady, who died delirious the next day. The laird of Auchintrincken, who was then viſiting that family, was piſtolled without heſitation, though he had taken the oaths three months, and carried about him a protection from the government; and one Drummond, a ſubaltern officer, clove

clove the ſkull of a boy not eight years old, whilſt imploring his mercy, embracing his knees, and offering to ſerve him for life. In fine, about forty perſons were inhumanly ſacrificed, and chiefly in their beds, but the paſſes not being properly ſecured upwards of one hundred and fifty eſcaped. Before morning, the village by Campbell's direction, was ſet on fire; and though the orders, which had been given to this wretch, did not extend to the death of females and children, yet being driven out naked into the deep ſnow, which then covered the ground, many died before they could reach any habitable place, which was at leaſt ſix miles diſtance from the valley.

This bloody tragedy ſullied the character of king William, who ſcreened the actors of it from public reſentment; and, in all probability, it ſowed the ſeeds of thoſe two rebellions which ſprang up in 1715 and 1745. But Johnſton, the king's ſecretary, managed matters ſo dexterouſly, as to prevent them at this time from coming to extremity. On the contrary, every thing in an enſuing parliament went on very ſmoothly. His majeſty was voted a ſupply of above one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling; ſix regiments were added to the ſtanding force of the kingdom, and many recruits were raiſed for the royal navy.

1693. The Scots now eaſy, ſecure, and freed from the thraldom of religious perſecution, began ſoon to reflect on the advantages of trade. All ranks of people deviſed ſchemes of commerce. In particular, one Paterſon, who had noted the oppoſition which the Eaſt India company in England had met with in obtaining their charter, propoſed the inſtitution of a Scotch company, which ſhould trade to Africa, and both the Indies.

As Scotland was ſtill an independent kingdom, and as Paterſon's ſcheme was plauſible, ſhares in this company were coveted with the utmoſt avidity. The parliament had granted it their ſanction, and eſtabliſhed in 1695 a national bank, which ſtill continues. Three hundred thouſand pounds were ſubſcribed in England, and two hundred thouſand pounds were offered by the merchants of Hamburg. Matters thus went on very favourable, but a ſevere famine, which ſubſiſted in Scotland for two years, hindered the adventurers from embarking for Darien, where it was propoſed to ſettle the factory, till the year 1698. They then ſet ſail from the Frith of Forth on the 17th of July, and in a number of ſhips, manned with twelve hundred ſailors and ſoldiers, laden with proper kinds of merchandize, together with artillery and military ſtores ſteering their courſe round the Orkney Iſles, they took in ſome proviſions at Madeira, and proceeded directly for the Iſthmus of Darien, where they took poſſeſſion of an harbour near Golden Iſland, in which it was declared, that neither Spain, nor any other power, had any concern. But the Scots had not been aware that many trading companies in different kingdoms would unite to oppoſe them. The Spaniards inſtantly tranſmitted a memorial to king William, roundly maintaining that the Scots, without a breach of the peace, could not fix at Darien, as it belonged to their maſter:—The French offered the aſſiſtance of a navy to diſlodge the Scots, if they ſhould be ſo hardy as to ſettle there:——The Dutch declared in a very moving addreſs to king William, that ſuch a ſettlement at Darien would intirely deſtroy their trade to America and the Indies: and the Engliſh, who ſaw that if the Scots once got a footing, they could ſmuggle ſo much, and on many other accounts under-ſell them ſo greatly, that their own

East-India company must be ruined, joined strongly in the universal murmuring.

From so powerful an opposition, it was easy to see, that this Darien company, as it was called, must be inevitably ruined. Not to particularize every succeeding step which was taken, it is sufficient to say, that the English governors of Jamaica, and the Leeward Islands, were strictly forbidden to hold the least intercourse with the Scotch settlers; and proclamations were published to this effect at Jamaica, Barbadoes, New York, and New England. This one step was sufficiently fatal. For being thus not only debarred from all mercantile connections, but to the greatest degree distressed for want of food and common necessaries; they capitulated with the Spaniards, for leave to retire; and accordingly abandoning their settlements in 1699, they awoke out of their golden dream in the utmost dismay.

When news reached Scotland that this darling scheme was irrecoverably marred, the kingdom was overwhelmed with the most possible distress. The Scots, with that eager confidence of success, which is natural to adventurers, had exhausted all their wealth and credit in the undertaking, so that thousands of families were reduced nearly to a state of beggary. In the rage of disappointment they reviled king William as having made use of duplicity, and called him the author of this horrible calamity. But in proportion as the Scots recovered from this blow, their reason returned, and they soon learned to throw the blame of this miscarriage, less upon king William, than upon national prejudice, and their own indiscretion.

1700. This year, the jacobites in Scotland imagined that they had good cause for exultation. The death of the duke of Glouceſter, which happened on h of July, removed,

removed, as they imagined, the only bar to the intereſt of their prince of Wales. That faction, therefore, grew eager, vigilant, and enterpriſing. And indeed affairs in England wore about this time ſuch a melancholy aſpect, that, if the abdicated king would have ſuffered his ſon to have receded from ſtrict popery in matters of religion, it has been thought, that a rebellion in his favour, and, in the end, a revolution would have taken place. King William, not inſenſible how unpopular he was, thought fit to order a parliament in Scotland, (which met on the 28th of October) conſtituting the duke of Queenſbury high commiſſioner. In this parliament the miniſters and their agents ſtirred themſelves ſo ſucceſsfully, that the king's intereſt gained much ground. It was declared that the ſafety and happineſs of the people of Scotland depended, under God, upon the preſervation of his majeſty's government and proteſtant ſucceſſion; to maintain which, they paſſed an act for keeping on foot three thouſand men, for two years, to be maintained by a land-tax. King William expreſſed a due ſenſe of the loyal proceedings of this parliament; and the earl of Argyle, having concurred with the high commiſſioner in the management of this ſeſſion, was honoured with the title of duke.

Theſe proceedings, added to the ſettlement of the crown of Great Britain, which was made the following year upon the princeſs Sophia, electoreſs of Hanover, rendered the death of James, which happened at St. Germains on the 16th of September following, as well as the proclamation of his pretended ſon in France, as king of England, of no avail. Events, though of ſome moment, they now produced but little combuſtion. The king's ſpeech to this parliament on the 30th day of December touching this latter affair was received with univerſal applauſe, and a bill for attainting the pretender paſſed both houſes.

But a very important project, which
1702. William, ever ſince his ſucceſſion to the crown, ſeems to have had at heart, has not yet been diſcloſed. It was an union of his two kingdoms; which having before warmly recommended to the ſerious conſideration of his parliament, he appears this year to have endeavoured, if poſſible, to accompliſh. He had made great arrangement for this important end, and was proceeding with the utmoſt ſpirit, when death diverted his purpoſe, and called him to an union with the bleſſed.

He left this world on the 8th of March, in the 52d year of his age, having worn his earthly crown thirteen years; during which, with a character formed of as many great and good qualities, and ſhaded by as few blemiſhes as perhaps are incident to humanity, he was doubtleſs a glorious inſtrument in the hand of Providence to reſcue theſe realms from that ſlavery, which popery, and its conſtant attendant, arbitrary power, were proceeding to impoſe.

ANNE.

THE king's death operated differently
1702. on the various parties which at this time ſubſiſted in Scotland. The Jacobites entertained ſuch miſtaken notions of his ſucceſſor, that to place their young maſter on the throne in her ſtead, was conceived to be a matter eaſily practicable: the preſbyterians, who had alſo imbibed ideas equally falſe, were ſeized with a panic-fear; but happily for the whole kingdom, the bold conjectures of the one were as futile, as were the diſmal apprehenſions of the other.

The

The miniſtry, which conſiſted of the duke of Queenſbury, the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Seafield, Hyndford, and Selkirk, was a knot of ſtaunch revolutioniſts. Immediately on the notice of king William's deceaſe, they aſſembled at the Croſs of Edinburgh, and with the uſual ſolemnity proclaimed the princeſs Anne of Denmark, who had already taken the coronation oath in the preſence of twelve Scottiſh counſellors. Her firſt expreſs into Scotland, after theſe proceedings, continued the old parliament, and confirmed the duke of Queenſbury in his office of high commiſſioner.

But the Jacobites, eager to diſturb the peace of their country, declared, that this convention parliament, which had continued through king William's whole reign, was by his death diſſolved, and that, of courſe, a new one ought to be called.

The duke of Hamilton headed this oppoſition, which was joined among others, by the Marquis of Tweedale, and the earl's Mareſchall and Rothes. So that when the parliament met on the 9th of June, they objected to its legality, and having entered a formal proteſt againſt all its proceedings, they withdrew, and were accompanied by ſeventy-ſix members. Having made this ſeceſſion, they adjourned amidſt the ſhouts of an unmeaning vulgar, to a common tavern, when they joined their applauders in drunkenneſs and riot.

The adminiſtration, mean time, which ſtill retained a great majority of members, diſregarded the ſentiments of the ſeceders, and amidſt all the diſturbance, which they had occaſioned, conducted the requiſite meaſures for the eſtabliſhment of their own legality, dignity and power, with cool circumſpection and with a ſteady vigor. They expelled ſir Alexander Bruce for uſing ſome ſevere expreſſions againſt preſbytery; and then paſſed the ſix acts which follow: —For recognizing her

majeſty's royal authority—For adjourning the court of ſeſſion—For the legality of their preſent meeting—For the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and preſbyterian church government—For a land-tax.—And as her majeſty had earneſtly recommended to their conſideration, an union of the two kingdoms, the laſt act enabled the queen to appoint commiſſioners who ſhould meet for that purpoſe.

All theſe acts were naturally diſagreeable to the ſeceders, and they reſolved to ſend a remonſtrance to the queen, which they accordingly drew up, but the lord Blantyre their agent was refuſed an audience; and in Scotland the dean and faculty of advocates were proſecuted, by the lord advocate, for having, by a vote amongſt themſelves approved of the ſeceſſion. The ſeceders were thus gradually falling into contempt, when the queen nominated twenty-three Engliſh, and twenty Scotch of the firſt rank and fortune in both kingdoms, as commiſſioners to treat on an union, and they met at the Cockpit near Whitehall, on the 22d day of October.

On the twentieth of the next month, they proceeded to adjuſt preliminaries, which imported "That nothing agreed on among themſelves ſhould be binding, except ratified by her majeſty and the reſpective parliaments of both nations; and that unleſs all the heads propoſed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed on ſhould be binding."

The firſt propoſal given in by the duke of Queenbury, and which was the baſis of all the ſucceeding negotiations, was, "That both nations ſhould be united in one monarchy, and one parliament, with a mutual communication of trade and privileges."

This propoſal was amended by the lord keeper of the great ſeal of England, who moved "That the

the two kingdoms ſhould be inſeparably united into one monarchy, under her majeſty, and her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame limitations according to the acts of ſettlement."

The queen, to quicken their councils, paid a viſit to the commiſſioners on the 14th of December. But whilſt matters were accelerating with mutual harmony, an unlucky mention of the Darien company gave birth to ſuch diſputes, as put an end to all farther proceedings of this commiſſion.

On this unhappy diſagreement, the queen, piqued by the ſuppoſition that ſhe had been impoſed upon, changed the Scottiſh miniſtry. Having ſet aſide the earls of Marchmont, Melvil, Leven, and Hyndford, ſhe appointed the earl of Seafield, who is ſaid to have been the oſier of the times, lord chancellor. The duke of Queenſbury, and the lord viſcount Tarbat were declared ſecretaries of ſtate. The marquis of Annandale was made preſident of the council, and the earl of Tullibardine, afterwards duke of Athol, was conſtituted lord privy ſeal. The adminiſtration being thus regulated, it was found neceſſary to aſſemble a parliament. 1703.

It opened on the 6th of May; and the duke of Queenſbury, who ſtill maintained his poſt of high commiſſioner, acted ſo artfully in conjunction with the new miniſtry, that even the Jacobites in general found it needleſs to oppoſe his meaſures, but joined the revolutioniſts in voting for a ſupply. Purſuant to an act of indemnity which her majeſty had iſſued, previous to the meeting of this parliament, many diſaffected members returned home, and a coalition, at leaſt in appearance, took place for ſome time, between both parties.

In conſequence of this unanimity, two bills of the greateſt importance were carried againſt the court. The firſt imported "That after the queen's

deceaſe, without heirs of her body, no perſon, at the ſame time king or queen of Scotland and England, ſhould have the ſole power of making war with any prince, ſtate, or potentate, whatſoever, without conſent of parliament." The ſecond was intended to circumſcribe the prerogative: it was called an Act of Security, which occaſioned much altercation in parliament, and ſuch diſturbance in the city, that the guards were kept in readineſs to ſuppreſs any inſurrection which might enſue, and to protect the high commiſſioner, who had refuſed the royal aſſent. In the courſe of theſe proceedings, the earl of Marchmont alſo incurred a temporary odium, for propoſing, before the neceſſary conditions and limitations had been debated, to ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown, on the houſe of Hanover.

During theſe commotions in parliament, Mr. Fletcher of Salton, greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Moſt part of this extraordinary man's life had been ſpent in Holland with the earl of Argyle, and the duke of Monmouth. His principles were thoroughly republican; and he poſſeſſed conſummate abilities, undaunted courage, and inflexible integrity. He planned both the late acts, and having obſerved that the nation muſt be enſlaved ſhould it either willingly, or by commiſſion, ſubmit to the ſucceſſor of England, without ſuch ſtipulations as ſhould ſecure their independency, he boldly declared, that for his own part, he would rather join in the nomination of ſome bigotted papiſt, under thoſe conditions, than of the trueſt proteſtant, if they muſt be diſpenſed with. But Fletcher, (who in the courſe of this ſeſſion, propoſed many patriotic bills) was told by the lord chancellor, with great truth and frankneſs, that his ſchemes were adapted to a commonwealth, and were inconſiſtent, and therefore uſeleſs, under a monarchy. In ſhort, the com-

commiſſioner, who had hampered himſelf by his over politic compliance with the Jacobites, not knowing rightly how to act at this delicate juncture, prorogued the parliament to the 12th of October, without having made any proviſion for the arrears of the army, or the expences of government, and before a freſh commiſſion was appointed to treat of the union.

The queen mean time diſtributed a profuſion of honours. The marquis of Athol, and the marquis of Douglas, though a minor, were created dukes; lord Tarbat was inveſted with the title of earl of Cromarty; the viſcounts of Stair and Roſeberry were promoted to the ſame dignity. Lord Boyle was created earl of Glaſgow; James Stuart of Bute earl of Bute; Charles Hope of Hoptoun, earl of Hoptoun; John Crawford of Kilbirnie, viſcount Garnock, and James Primroſe of Carrington, viſcount Primroſe. At this time the queen's behaviour was rather equivocal, for whilſt in England ſhe ſeemed greatly to befriend the union, ſhe in Scotland conferred the higheſt honours on ſuch as oppoſed it. To extend the field of honour, ſhe revived the *Order of the Thiſtle*, changed the colour of the ribband into green, and dubbed the duke of Athol one of its knights, though that nobleman wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf as the leader of the Jacobites.

At this vacation of public buſineſs, an odd kind of plot was diſcovered to have been conducted by Simon Fraſer, the ſame man, who, when lord Lovat ſuffered on Tower-hill at London, for having a chief hand in the rebellion of 1745. Fraſer had neither fortune nor principle, having been outlawed for raviſhing a ſiſter of the marquis of Athol. Thus abandoned, he repaired to the court of St. Germains, where he inſinuated that if the French king would furniſh 1704.

him with officers, ammunition, and money, he could raiſe ſuch a body of troops in favour of the pretender, as might be ſufficient to place him on the throne of Great-Britain. Lewis ſeemed to promiſe him his aſſiſtance; but Fraſer's character was ſo infamous, that though he was ſent back into Scotland, to uſe his intereſt amongſt the clans two perſons were ſent along with him to judge of his connections with the Jacobite nobility, and to report back to France how far he was to be depended on. Fraſer, mean while, diſcloſed the affair to the duke of Queenſbury; and as he pretended that what he had done was merely to ſound the French king for the ſecurity of queen Anne's government, the duke encouraged him in holding a correſpondence with the Jacobites. On the other hand, when he returned into France, he changed his ſtory, and deſired leave of Lewis the XIVth to maintain a connection with the Scotch proteſtants for the ſervice of the pretender. But the French king had received ſuch accounts from his agents, as led him to conclude, with great juſtice, that Fraſer was the ſpy of both parties, and was endeavouring to recover his ſhattered fortunes by declaring himſelf to be by turns a friend to each, at the ſame time that in reality he was well affected to neither. Lewis, in conſequence of this opinion, put an effectual ſtop to his intrigues, by clapping him into the Baſtile; where he remained ſeveral years.

On this, the affair was blown in Scotland; and the duke of Queenſbury, though he had diſcloſed the motives of his conduct, which were in general ſatisfactory, was thought, by having given ſo much countenance to that abandoned outlaw, to have been the pretender's friend. He therefore loſt his poſt of high commiſſioner, which was conferred on the marquis of Tweedale. Thoſe of inferior office, who were thought too much attached to the duke,

duke, were alſo turned out; but Mr. Johnſton was made lord-regiſter, and the earl of Cromarty ſole ſecretary of ſtate.

The Parliament, which had been further prorogued, opened on the 6th of July, and proceeded, in the firſt place, to ſettle the ſucceſſion. The earl of Marchmont propoſed an act for excluding any popiſh ſucceſſor; but this motion, though highly conſtitutional, was objected to, and violent heats between the court and the country party ſucceeded. At laſt an expedient was offered by ſir James Falconer of Pheſdo, which, when put to the vote, met with a general aſſent. In conſequence thereof it was reſolved "that the parliament would not proceed to nominate a ſucceſſor, until a previous treaty with England, reſpecting commerce and other matters, ſhould be diſcuſſed; and that it would make the neceſſary limitations and conditions of government, before the ſucceſſor ſhould be nominated." A ſupply was however granted; and they confirmed the act of ſecurity, which provided "That in caſe the queen ſhould die without iſſue, a parliament ſhould immediately meet and declare the ſucceſſor to the crown, different from the perſon poſſeſſing the throne of England, unleſs before that period a ſettlement ſhould be made in parliament, of the rights and liberties of the nation independent on Engliſh councils." And they were impowered by a clauſe in it, to arm the ſubjects and put them into diſcipline for the defence of the kingdom.

The whole vote, but eſpecially this clauſe in it, which the Engliſh interpreted to be a prelude of hoſtilities, was ſo reſented by their parliament, that, on the 11th of January following a grand committee, which was appointed to conſider of the ſtate of the nation with regard to Scotland, came to the following reſolutions for a bill, which was

ſtrongly

ſtrongly urged to be paſſed for the ſecurity of the kingdom of England.

"1ſt, That it be one head of the bill, to enable her majeſty to nominate and appoint commiſſioners for England, to treat with commiſſioners from Scotland for an union between the two kingdoms.

"2d, That all natives of the kingdom of Scotland, except ſuch as are ſettled, and ſhall continue inhabitants of England, or of the dominions thereunto belonging, or at preſent in the ſervice of the army or navy, ſhall be reputed as aliens, unleſs the ſucceſſion to the crown of Scotland be ſettled on the princeſs Sophia of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants.

"3d, That a more effectual proviſion be made to prevent the exportation of wool from England and Ireland into Scotland.

"4th, That a proviſion be made to prevent the importation of Scotch linen into England or Ireland, and to permit the exportation of the linen manufactures of Ireland in Engliſh bottoms into her majeſty's plantations in the Weſt-Indies.

"5th, That immediate poviſion be made to prevent the conveying of horſes, arms, and ammunition, from England into Scotland.

"6th, That all proteſtant freeholders of the ſix northern counties of England be permitted to furniſh themſelves with arms."

By this draught it appears that the Engliſh took up the indeciſion of the Scotch parliament with a very high hand, and were determined to ſhut up all connections of commerce, unleſs the long deſired union could be effected. In the mean while, the marquis of Tweedale was laid aſide, and the duke of Argyle, a moſt promiſing young nobleman, was appointed

appointed high commiſſioner in his room. On this, Tweedale joined his friends, who had been removed along with him, and formed a party under the name of the Flying Squadron.

This party, though it owed its riſe to Tweedale's diſmiſſion, was deſirous, as is commonly the caſe with diſappointed courtiers, to diſtinguiſh itſelf as a knot of independent patriots. And as not one of the members was a Jacobite, they ſupported the appearance with ſome propriety, and though it was not their intention greatly facilitated the union. For as they joined the Jacobites, who violently oppoſed it, the conſiderate and unprejudiced part of the kingdom concluded, that an union muſt be effected to ſave the honour of the nation, and from a war, and very likely in that caſe, an introduction of the pretender. The neceſſity of an union therefore appeared daily more apparent. It was wiſely thought to be a chimerical and impracticable ſcheme for one ſovereign to govern two ſeparate, independent nations, differing as much from each other in laws and intereſts, as in genius and purſuits; unleſs ſtanding armies, like thoſe of Charles the 2d and his brother, were always maintained to enforce the due obſervance of the ſovereign's commands. 1705.

They had ſuffered too much from ſuch military government not to dread its revival. The parliament therefore proceeded in good earneſt to ſettle this deſirable treaty. It met in autumn; and the duke of Hamilton propoſed that the act for the union ſhould have a clauſe importing "That it ſhould no ways derogate from any fundamental laws, ancient privileges, offices, rights, liberties, and dignities of the Scottiſh nations." But this motion was over-ruled. At length, after much altercation, and violent oppoſition from the republican genius of Fletcher, the act for the treaty of union

was

was compleated; and to the amazement of the Jacobites, the duke of Hamilton himſelf moved, and being put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative, that the queen ſhould again appoint commiſſioners. This weighty point being finiſhed, a ſupply of fifty thouſand pounds ſterling was voted, and then the parliament adjourned to the 20th day of December.

1706. The queen was no ſooner appriſed of the reſolves of the Scotch parliament than ſhe removed the marquis of Annandale from his office of ſecretary of ſtate, to that of lord preſident of the council, and ſupplied his place by the earl of Mar. She then immediately appointed the following perſons to be commiſſioners; For England, Thomas lord archbiſhop of Canterbury; William Cowper, lord keeper of the great ſeal; John lord archbiſhop of York; Sidney, lord Godolphin, lord high treaſurer of England; Thomas, earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery, preſident of the council; John duke of Newcaſtle, keeper of the privy ſeal, William duke of Devonſhire, ſteward of the houſhold; Charles duke of Somerſet, maſter of the horſe; Charles duke of Bolton; Charles earl of Sunderland; Evelyn earl of Kingſton; Charles earl of Carliſle; Edward earl of Oxford; Charles viſcount Townſend; Thomas lord Wharton; Ralph lord Grey; John lord Powlet; John lord Somers; Charles lord Halifax; William Cavendiſh marquis of Hartington; John Manners marquis of Granby; ſir Charles Hedges, and Robert Harley principal ſecretaries of ſtate; John Smith; Henry Boyle, chancellor of the exchequer; ſir John Holt, chief juſtice of the queen's bench; ſir Thomas Trevor, chief juſtice of the common pleas; ſir Edward Northey, attorney general; ſir Simon Harcourt, ſolicitor general; ſir John Cook; and Stephen Waller, doctor of laws.——For Scotland,

James

James earl of Seafield, lord chancellor; James duke of Queenſbury, lord privy ſeal; John earl of Mar, and Hugh earl of Loudon, principal ſecretaries of ſtate; John earl of Sutherland; John earl of Morton; David earl of Wemys; David earl of Leven; John earl of Stair; Archibald earl of Roſeberry; David earl of Glaſgow; lord Archibald Campbell; Thomas viſcount Duplin; lord William Roſs; ſir Hugh Dalrymple, preſident of the ſeſſion; Adam Cockburn of Ormiſten, lord juſtice clerk; ſir Robert Dundas of Armiſtoun; Robert Stewart of Tillicultrie, lords of the ſeſſion; Mr. Francis Montgomery, one of the commiſſioners of the treaſury; ſir David Dalrymple, one of her majeſty's ſolicitors; ſir Alexander Ogilvy, receiver general; ſir Patrick Johnſton, provoſt of Edinburgh; ſir James Smollett of Bonhill; George Lockhart of Carnwath, William Morriſon of Preſton-Grange, Alexander Grant, William Seton of Pitmidden, John Clark of Pennycook, Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stewart, and Daniel Campbell.

The Cockpit was again ſettled to be the place of meeting, and they aſſembled there on the 16th day of April. Preliminaries were adjuſted in much the ſame manner as they had been on the ſame occaſion four years before; for it was agreed "That all propoſals ſhould be made in writing, and every point when agreed, reduced to writing: that no points ſhould be obligatory, till all matters ſhould be adjuſted in ſuch a manner as would be proper to be laid before the queen, and the two parliaments for their approbation: that a committee ſhould be appointed from each commiſſion, to reviſe the minutes of what might paſs, before they ſhould be inſerted in the books by the reſpective ſecretaries; and that all the proceedings during the treaty ſhould be kept ſecret." The lord keeper of England, who was the principal of this great affair, then propoſed

"That

"That the kingdoms of Scotland and England be for ever united into one kingdom, by the name of *Great-Britain*; that the united kingdom of Great-Britain be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament; that the ſucceſſion to the monarchy of the kingdom of Great-Britain, in caſe of failure of heirs of her majeſty's body, ſhall deſcend upon the moſt excellent princeſs Sophia, electoreſs, and ducheſs-dowager of Hanover, and remain to her and the heirs of her body, being proteſtants, with this proviſion, "That all the ſubjects of the united kingdom of Great-Britain ſhall have full freedom and intercourſe of trade and navigation, to and from any part or place within the united kingdom, and plantations thereunto belonging; and that there be a communication of all other privileges and advantages, which do, or may, belong to the ſubjects of either kingdom."

This was agreed to by the Scotch commiſſioners: a fœderal and not an incorporated union was the aim of every one of them, except the duke of Queenſbury, when they firſt aſſembled. But the Engliſh commiſſioners declaring themſelves ſo fully convinced that nothing but an intire union would ſettle a perfect and laſting friendſhip between the two kingdoms; that the other Scotch commiſſioners concurred with the duke of Queenſbury, for the good of their country.

Both parties then went on hand in hand; the queen paid them two viſits; and they proceeded with ſuch diligence, that by the 22d of July, the articles of this famous treaty were finiſhed, ingroſſed, and executed, by every commiſſioner, except Lockhart of Carnwath, who could never be prevailed on to ſign or ſeal it. The day following, the lord keeper, in the name of the Engliſh, preſented the important inſtrument to her majeſty, at the palace of St. James's; a ſealed duplicate was

alſo

alſo delivered by the lord chancellor of Scotland; the queen received them with the higheſt ſatisfaction, and made a gracious reply to a ſhort ſpeech which each commiſſioner made on the occaſion.

The twenty-five articles which compoſed the treaty, were in ſubſtance as follow: "The firſt and ſecond, united for ever the two nations into one kingdom by the name of *Great-Britain*, which, by the third article, was declared repreſentable by one and the ſame parliament. The fourth, eſtabliſhed an equality of trade in every part of the world except where ſpecified to the contrary. The fifth, related to the ſhipping of both nations, which were likewiſe declared equal under the name of ſhips of Great-Britain. The ſixth, gave in every part of the united kingdom the allowances, encouragements, and drawbacks, ſubject to the ſame prohibitions, reſtrictions, and regulations, of trade, and to the cuſtoms and duties on imports and exports. The ſeventh, concerned the exciſe on liquors, which was rated the ſame throughout all parts of the united kingdom, except that the thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel of beer or ale, amounting to twelve gallons Scotch preſent meaſure, ſold in Scotland by the brewer, at nine ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling, excluding all duties, and retailed, including duties and the retailers profit, at two pence the Scotch pint, or eighth part of the Scotch gallon, be not liable on account of the preſent exciſe upon exciſeable liquors in England, to any higher impoſition than two ſhillings ſterling upon the aforeſaid thirty-four gallons Engliſh barrel, being twelve gallons of the preſent Scotch meaſure. The eighth article regulated the fiſheries and the duties upon ſalt. The ninth, is too material not to ſubjoin at large: it declares, "That whenever the ſum of one million, nine hundred and ninety-ſeven thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſixty-three pounds, eight ſhillings and four-

four-pence half-penny, ſhall be enacted by the parliament of Great-Britain, to be raiſed in that part of the united kingdom called England, on land and other things, uſually charged in acts of parliament there, for granting an aid to the crown by a land-tax; that part of the united kingdom, now called Scotland, ſhall be charged by the ſame act with the further ſum of forty-eight thouſand pounds, free of all charges, as the quota of Scotland to ſuch tax, and ſo proportionably for any greater or leſſer ſum raiſed in England, by any tax on land or other things uſually charged together with the land. And that ſuch quota for Scotland, in caſes aforeſaid, be raiſed and collected in the ſame manner as the ceſs now is in Scotland, but ſubject to ſuch regulations in the manner of collecting as ſhall be made by the parliament of Great-Britain." The four ſucceeding articles exempt the Scots from payment of ſeveral duties on paper, vellum, parchment, coals, culm, and malt. The fourteenth and fifteenth, granted to the Scots the ſum of three hundred ninety-eight thouſand and eighty-five pounds, ten ſhillings, as an equivalent for ſuch parts of the cuſtoms and exciſe charged upon that kingdom in conſequence of the union, as muſt in ſome meaſure contribute to pay the debts of England, in the ſame proportion as the cuſtoms and exciſe of that country bore with thoſe of Scotland. The ſixteenth article erected a mint in Scotland, ſubject to the parliament of Great-Britain, and fixed the ſame ſtandard and weight of the coin as in England. The ſeventeenth, in like manner affected weights and meaſures. The eighteenth eſtabliſhed the ſame uniformity in the regulation of trade and its conſequences, without meddling with the old laws of Scotland reſpecting private property. The nineteenth perpetuated the authority of the court of ſeſſion and juſticiary in Scotland, together with the

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court of admiralty and other inferior officers, under the regulations of a Britiſh parliament. The twentieth continued all heritable officers, ſuperiorities, heritable juriſdictions, offices for life, and juriſdictions for life, to their reſpective owners as rights of property, agreeably to the ancient laws of Scotland, but this article has ſince been ſet aſide.

The twenty-firſt concerned the rights and privileges of the royal boroughs in Scotland; which has undergone ſome alteration. The twenty-ſecond founded the conſtitution of the ſixteen peers, and forty-five commoners from Scotland to ſit as at preſent in the Britiſh parliament. The twenty-third allowed the peers all the privileges of Engliſh peers; that they ſhould have rank and precedency next and immediately after the Engliſh peers of the like orders and degrees at the time of the union, and before all peers of Great-Britain of the like orders and degrees, who might be created after the union. The twenty-fourth kept the Scotch regalia in that kingdom, and regulated the quarterings of the Scotch and Engliſh arms, and other armorial bearings, for the ſeal of Great-Britain, &c. And by the laſt article it was provided "That all laws and ſtatutes in either kingdom, ſo far as they are contrary to, or conſiſtent with, the terms of thoſe articles, or any of them, ſhall, from and after the union, ceaſe, and become void, and ſhall be ſo declared to be by the reſpective parliaments of the ſaid kingdoms"

Such is the ſubſtance of that treaty, which had the public faith alone for its guarantee, and that deſtroyed the independency of each kingdom upon the other; but opened a channel through which a greater tide of ſplendor, power, and opulence has flowed into Great Britain, than the diſunited natives of England and Scotland could have ever beheld.

But

But notwithſtanding theſe unanimous proceedings at London, the bulk of the Scottiſh nation was highly averſe to the union, which, till ratified by that parliament, was ſtill incomplete. From the ſpirit of this people, it was expected to meet with great oppoſition. The adverſe party in Scotland, was indeed more numerous than the Engliſh had conceived.

At the meeting of parliament in that kingdom, the duke of Queenſbury acted as high commiſſioner; and on the 3d day of October he produced a letter from the queen, in which ſhe hoped that the terms of the treaty, which he then read, would prove acceptable. Theſe terms had till then been induſtriouſly kept ſecret; but when being recited in parliament, they became known to the whole nation, ſuch a flame kindled as it was imagined, no art or induſtry could poſſibly extinguiſh. But though it oftener happens, that the moſt plauſible theories are incapable of practice, than that thoſe ſchemes which theory deems impracticable, ſhould ſucceed in the experiment; yet the queen's loyal and active miniſters produced at this important criſis, an happy inſtance of the latter. For though the duke of Hamilton was ſuch a weather-cock in politics, that he now violently oppoſed what he had but juſt before ſo warmly promoted;—though his preſent averſion to the union, was ſupported by the lord Belhaven, Mr. Fletcher, and others, from miſtaken notions of patriotiſm;—and by all the Jacobites—and by the preſbyterian clergy, becauſe no ſettlement had been made for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of their religion;—though the populace raged tumultouſly in the cities of Edinburgh and Glaſgow, and burned the articles of the union at the Market-croſs of Dumfries; yet amidſt all the fury of this national antipathy, the dukes of Queenſbury and Argyle, the earls of Montroſe, Seafield

field and Stair, and thoſe other truly patriotic noblemen, who eſpouſed the union, ſilenced the popular clamour in ſo great a meaſure, as at laſt to effect a ſolemn ratification of the treaty on January the 16th 1707, and which received the royal aſſent on March the 6th, following, by touching it with the ſcepter, conformably to the old cuſtom that ſtill ſubſiſts of paſſing all other acts. To effect this, the above lords reaſoned publickly in parliament, and ſoothed the populace without, with the moſt flattering expectations. By promoting the inſertion of an act in the treaty, which ſettled unalterably the preſbyterian church government as the eſtabliſhed form of religion in Scotland, they cooled the reſentment of the clergy; who, notwithſtanding the toleration granted by her majeſty, ſoon afterwards to epiſcopacy, have ſince, even amidſt the terrors of rebellions, preſerved equally inviolate their faith and their loyalty. And thus, with the timely diſtribution of twenty thouſand pounds, the commiſſioner having accompliſhed the great purpoſe of the court, adjourned the parliament on the 25th day of March, and ſet out for London. Forty noblemen with their equipage, and upwards of four hundred gentlemen on horſeback, met him as he approached the capital. Next day amidſt freſh ſhouts of the people, he waited on the queen at Kenſington, where he received from his royal miſtreſs that gracious reception which his ſteady, wiſe, and upright conduct had moſt juſtly merited.

UNION.

THE union having been perfectly compleated by the concurrent ratification of the Engliſh parliament, Scotland ceaſed to be an independent kingdom. At this period 1707.

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therefore, the hiſtory of that nation ſhould neceſſarily cloſe; but as North Britain has ſince teemed with ſome great events, it is preſumed that a ſummary of the moſt important tranſactions relative to that part of our iſland down to the preſent time, may be conſidered as no improper or diſagreeable concluſion to the whole.

Immediately after the intire completion of the union, the duke of Queenſbury was appointed ſecretary of ſtate for that part of Great Britain called Scotland; an exchequer was eſtabliſhed there in 1708; and in the year following, ſome articles of the treaty underwent a few material alterations. The eldeſt ſons of Scotch peers, particularly, were diſqualified from being choſen in parliament for any part of Scotland; as was alſo a Scotch peer, if he was made a peer of Great Britain, from voting for the ſixteen peers, who at every new parliament are elected to repreſent Scotland in the Britiſh houſe of Lords. During the remaining years of queen Anne's reign, little tranſpired worthy notice, beſides the famous duel which was fought in Hyde-Park, on the 15th of November 1712, between the duke of Hamilton and lord Mohun, who were reckoned two of the beſt ſwordſmen in Europe. After the moſt obſtinate combate, which owed its riſe to a party-diſpute, the latter was killed on the ſpot, and the former expired the next day of his wounds.

GEORGE.

ON the 1ſt of Auguſt 1714, her majeſty dying, the crown devolved, without oppoſition, on the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover. The princeſs Sophia, on whom the crown had been ſettled, being dead, her ſon and heir, the elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king of Great Britain, &c. with the cuſtomary

mary ceremonies and ſolemnity. The Jacobites in Scotland thought the preſent a fit occaſion to promote a rebellion, in favour of the Pretender. That ill-fated man, had aſſumed on his father's death, the title of the *Chevalier de St. George*, under which he lived in foreign courts with ſome degree of reputation.

The ſame earl of Mar, who had been the late queen's ſecretary for Scotland, and who notwithſtanding his profeſſions of loyalty to king George, expreſſed both by letter and oaths, was now the father of the party, which openly eſpouſed the pretender's cauſe. In a very ſhort time, he collected together 8000 men, ſet up the pretender's ſtandard September the 6th 1715, and fixing his head quarters at Perth, he proclaimed the pretender, and maintained a correſpondence with Mr. Forſter, knight of the ſhire for Northumberland, and alſo with viſcount Kenmure, the earls of Carnwath, Wintoun, Nithiſdale, Derwentwater, the lord Widdrington, and others of the nobility in the weſt of Scotland, who were inclined to Jacobitiſm. But though this rebellion had at firſt a moſt formidable appearance, the king's troops under the generals Carpenter and Wills, and the duke of Argyle, defeated on the very ſame day, Sunday November the 3d, Forſter with the Engliſh rebels, and the earl of Mar and his adherents, the former at Preſton, and the latter at Sheriff Muir. The earls of Derwentwater and the viſcount Kenmure being the principal men taken priſoners, were carried ignominiouſly to London, where they ſoon ſuffered decapitation as traitors. The earls of Wintoun and Nithiſdale were alſo taken, but made their eſcape. Mar having loſt his authority amongſt his troops, they grew mutinous and retired by parties to their native Highlands.

These were the transactions of the memorable year 1715, at the close of which, the pretender himself landed from a Dunkirk privateer in-cog. at Peterhead. Causing himself to be proclaimed whereſoever he went, he arrived at Scone on the 7th of January following, where he gave out that he intended to be crowned. But his followers, who were divided amongſt themſelves, and in general diſheartened, receiving intelligence that the duke of Argyle was in full march againſt them, at the head of a conſiderable body of troops, they perſuaded him rather to retreat; and he followed their advice ſo literally, that flying with the utmoſt haſte to Montroſe, he threw himſelf with the earls of Mar and of Melfort, and other chiefs, into a ſmall veſſel, and February the 14th ſet ſail for France. This ill-concerted rebellion, like the *South-Sea Bubble*, which evaporated four years afterward, proved the ruin of many conſiderable families in Scotland.

In 1717, Spain threatened Great Britain with another invaſion, in favour of the pretender, under the command of the duke of Ormond, who had been impeached and attainted of high treaſon, for the part he had acted in connection with the infamous miniſtry of queen Anne's laſt years. The Spaniſh fleet were diſperſed by violent ſtorms, and only the earls of Seaforth and Mareſchal and the marquis of Tullibardine, with about 400 men, landed at Kintair in Scotland; about 1600 Highlanders ſoon joined them, but major general Wightman as ſoon drove them from their fortreſſes, made the Spaniards priſoners, and forced the lord to make the beſt of their way to the iſlands, from whence they tranſported themſelves back to Spain.

Though the Scots do not appear to have had much hand in the ſchemes which were formed in favour of the pretender, in 1722, for which the biſhop

biſhop of Rocheſter (Atterbury) was condemned to exile, yet the king in 1725, paſſed an act for diſarming the Highlanders, and for building bridges, and opening roads, by which their country might be rendered more eaſy of acceſs. And to the death of this firm magnanimous prince, which happened in 1727, he kept a ſtrict eye over this part of his dominions.

GEORGE II.

NEAR ten years in this reign paſſed on, 1727. without being productive of any very particular event. Sir Robert Walpole ſo managed affairs, that the Scotch burgeſſes generally voted with the court; and ſuch of them as for a time acted a contrary part, gained ſo little credit by it, that they were ſuppoſed to act, not thro' independency of ſpirit, and for the public weal, but from views of ſelf-intereſt or Jacobitiſm. But whilſt his majeſty was at Hanover in 1736, there happened in Edinburgh the following alarming circumſtance: A captain of that city-guard, one *Porteous*, too wantonly ordered his men to fire upon the people, for expreſſing little more than a generous ſympathy at the fate of a ſmuggler, whom he was eſcorting to an ignominious death. Many perſons were killed. And as this crime was doubly atrocious, being, beſides the ſhedding much innocent blood, a direct innovation upon civil liberty, Porteous was inſtantly apprehended, brought fairly to trial and juſtly condemned, as guilty of wilful murder. The queen regent, however, ſent him down a pardon, of which the populace being appriſed, a body of men forced an entrance into the priſon where he lay, hauled him

forth, led him in triumph to the place of execution, and hanged him to a ſign-poſt. The queen was exaſperated at this contempt of her authority. The ſtate-miniſter accordingly took up the affront; and becauſe Alexander Wilſon, the provoſt of the city, had not proceeded vigorouſly againſt the rioters, for apprehending whom large rewards were then offered, he brought a bill into parliament, which would have not only impriſoned the provoſt, and rendered him incapable of holding any place in the united kingdoms, but have aboliſhed the town-guard, and demoliſhed the gates of the city. The bill, without much oppoſition, was carried through the houſe of lords, but it was examined with the moſt impartial ſcrutiny by the commons, where every Scotch member voting againſt it, they threw it out. But Sir Robert was nevertheleſs determined it ſhould paſs; when therefore, it was returned to the houſe of lords, they indeed carried it through, but ſoftened it, to the diſabling of Wilſon from holding any office of magiſtracy in Edinburgh or elſewhere in Great Britain, and laying a fine of 2000 *l.* on the city.

From this time, notwithſtanding the Scotch members of parliament were almoſt conſtantly ſubſervient to Sir Robert Walpole, the Scots in general, ran counter to this adminiſtration. Nor indeed, did affairs in North Britain take a much different turn, when that miniſter was diſplaced, and took his ſeat in the upper houſe as earl of Orford in 1741. Trade, all this while found in that quarter no encouragement. And though, as the Scots had not yet diveſted themſelves thoroughly of their feudal principles, the army opened ſcenes of employment ſomewhat agreeably with their diſpoſition, yet every man could not be an officer. The heads of clans therefore, who ſtill were permitted to live upon and govern their eſtates, not having

ſuch

ſuch employs as ſuited beſt with their inclinations at home, maintained illicit correſpondences abroad.

The fruit of theſe dangerous intrigues grew ripe in 1745. The pretender's ſon, being invited over by the diſſatisfied and deſperate clans, and ſpurred on by France, which had made the whole Stuart race its tools and dupes, embarked at Port St. Lazare, and after great hazard from the vigilance of the Engliſh, he landed on the coaſt of Lochabar with the marquis of Tullibardine, ſir Thomas Sherridan, and many other Scotch and Iriſh adventurers in his train. As he marched on, his followers daily increaſed, and ſuch uncertain intelligence had the Engliſh of this rebellion, that they did not even believe him to be landed, till he had diſarmed two companies of ſoldiers in the neighbourhood of Fort William. Then, great was the conſternation of all ranks of people in England; which increaſed much, when it was known that the duke of Perth, viſcount Strathallan, lord Nairn, lord George Murray, Cameron of Lochiel, with many other men of note, had repaired to his ſtandard.

His march was rapid: he was proclaimed at Perth, Dundee, Edinburgh, and other places; but only in quality of regent, all acts paſſing in the name of his father. Notwithſtanding all this ſhew, it is a certain fact, that when ſir John Cope, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in that quarter, marched againſt him with three thouſand regular troops and a good train of artillery, the pretender's army ſcarcely exceeded that number of men, all freſh recruits, and poorly accoutred. The pretender no ſooner heard of Cope's arrival, than he advanced to fight him. The general, who had now been joined by two regiments of dragoons, and ſome well-affected Highlanders, met and engaged him on the 21ſt of September,

tember, near Preſton-pans. Cope's ſhameful defeat is known to every one; ſo that it need be no farther obſerved, than that it gained the pretender and his rebel army ſo much credit, that they advanced even a great way into England, and it was thought highly expedient to put the king's forces upon another footing, by appointing them a gallant and much-beloved leader, in the perſon of his royal highneſs WILLIAM duke of Cumberland. The prince accordingly took the command of an army at Edinburgh, which conſiſted of fourteen battalions of infantry, two regiments of dragoons, and fifteen hundred Highlanders. Near the beginning of April he bent his march towards the pretender, who had ſome time before retreated northward, and lay encamped at Culloden, about a mile from Inverneſs; but with a very conſiderable force, having been joined by lord Kilmarnock, lord Balmerino, and many other noblemen. The pretender ſuffered his highneſs to paſs the Spey without moleſtation, though he might have diſputed it with great advantage, that he might cut off his retreat. To defeat the duke he confidently thought was certain. And to this idle piece of vanity, he ſacrificed all his advances to a crown. Particulars of the memorable action, which enſued, are not here to be expreſſed. It is enough to ſay, that all the Pretender's forces, and with them, all his hopes, were totally defeated. And though in the carnage which followed his troops, in their efforts to eſcape, ſome acts which are contrary to Britiſh heroiſm, it is ſaid, were tranſacted, they muſt have been performed by the enraged ſoldiers in the general ardor of purſuit, and can never tarniſh the glorious memory of his immortal conqueror.

Of the perſons of note taken priſoners, the lords Lovat, Balmerino, and Kilmarnock, were beheaded; but the earl of Cromarty, and many others, were

were pardoned. As for the pretender, he eſcaped in a French veſſel to Nantes, which, conſidering the vaſt rewards offered for his head, (thirty thouſand pounds from England, and twice as much from Ireland) was indeed wonderful; eſpecially as many poor Highlanders of both ſexes were privy to his haunts for four months, during which time he ſkulked about from place to place, till he found an opportunity to embark. His eſcape, however, ſerved only to preſerve his life, for even the pope and Romiſh clergy ſoon forgot to pay him any mark of diſtinction; and on his father's death, ſo far from keeping alive any pretenſion to the crown of Great Britain, he found no friend but his brother the cardinal of York. Indeed ſuch meaſures were taken by his majeſty in conſequence of this rebellion, that the revival of any pretender's claim could not have been attended by the ſhadow of ſucceſs. The Highlanders were all diſarmed, and an act was paſſed in 1747, aboliſhing the peculiarity of their dreſs, which it was ſuppoſed might otherwiſe keep party diſtinctions alive. In ſhort, every method was purſued which could ſerve to prevent any ſuch commotion for the future.

The loyal Scots, who were by much the majority, were in this reſpect particularly active, and concurred zealouſly with the parliament in rooting up the feudal forms and conſtitutions which were till then ſo fatally adhered to in the Highlands. In few years, a willing ſubmiſſion to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment ſucceeded. And agriculture, manufactures and commerce, which through family-pride and prepoſſeſſions, had been heretofore neglected, were at the cloſe of this reign cultivated in Scotland, with the greateſt aſſiduity.

GEORGE III.

1760. GREAT-BRITAIN at this prince's acceſſion was truly happy. Through the whole iſland there were no ſeparate views, intereſts, or purſuits; and to this day, whatever tends to throw luſtre on the natives of the one part, is acknowledged, by the candid, to be an honour to the other. Amongſt the illiberal and the vulgar indeed, ſome national prejudices do ſtill ſubſiſt. But may they periſh with the memory of thoſe national injuries from whence they at firſt aroſe.—And ſince the treaty of union was not more the effect of wiſe policy, than of cordial affection, may the diſagreeable diſtinction of Engliſhman and Scotchman be for ever loſt, in the common, in the glorious, and in the envied name of—BRITON.

FINIS.

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